

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Faculty Publications, Department of Psychology

Psychology, Department of

2019

The Social Interaction Model of Objectification: A process model of goal-based objectifying exchanges between men and women

Sarah Gervais

University of Nebraska-Lincoln, sgervais2@unl.edu

Gemma Sáez

Universidad Loyola Andalucía, gsaez@uloyola.es

Abigail R. Riemer

Carroll University, Waukesha, Wisconsin, ariemer@carrollu.edu

Olivier Klein

Université Libre de Bruxelles, klein.olivier@ulb.ac.be

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/psychfacpub>



Part of the [History of Gender Commons](#), [Other Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#), [Psychology Commons](#), and the [Women's Studies Commons](#)

Gervais, Sarah; Sáez, Gemma; Riemer, Abigail R.; and Klein, Olivier, "The Social Interaction Model of Objectification: A process model of goal-based objectifying exchanges between men and women" (2019). *Faculty Publications, Department of Psychology*. 920.
<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/psychfacpub/920>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Psychology, Department of at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Publications, Department of Psychology by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

The Social Interaction Model of Objectification:

A process model of goal-based objectifying exchanges between men and women

Sarah J. Gervais,¹ Gemma Sáez,²
Abigail R. Riemer,³ and Olivier Klein⁴

1 Department of Psychology, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, Nebraska, USA

2 Departamento de Psicología, Universidad Loyola Andalucía, Seville, Spain

3 Department of Life Sciences, Carroll University, Waukesha, Wisconsin, USA

4 Center for Social and Cultural Psychology, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles, Belgium

Corresponding author — Sarah J. Gervais, Department of Psychology, University of Nebraska–Lincoln, 219 Burnett Hall, Lincoln, NE, USA (email: sgervais2@unl.edu).

Abstract

People perceive and treat women as sex objects in social exchanges. The interaction processes through which women are objectified, however, have rarely been considered. To address this gap in the literature, we propose the Social Interaction Model of Objectification (SIMO). Rooted in social exchange and objectification theories, the SIMO predicts objectifying behaviors stemming from sexual goals between men and women. We propose that the behavioral dynamics of objectification can be understood through a series of goal-based exchange processes that

Published in *British Journal of Social Psychology* (2019)

DOI:10.1111/bjso.12339

Copyright © 2019 The British Psychological Society; published by John Wiley. Used by permission.

Submitted 12 September 2018; revised 27 June 2019.

are shaped by patriarchy. Articulating the SIMO and its predictions for Behavior in social interactions, we describe the scant social psychological studies in this area. Not only is the SIMO useful for understanding objectifying interaction processes, but it can be used to understand why women sometimes evaluate objectification positively as well as instances of sexual violence. Finally, we discuss critical directions for future research and provide promising methodological approaches for testing the SIMO.



While it is true that for these men I am nothing but, let us say, a 'nice piece of ass', there is more involved in this encounter than their mere fragmented perception of me. They could, after all, have enjoyed me in silence. . . But I must be made to know that I am a 'nice piece of ass': I must be made to see myself as they see me. . . Sexual objectification as I have characterized it involves two persons: the one who objectifies and the one who is objectified.

Bartky (1990, p. 27)

Highlighted by the example in Bartky's (1990) classic book on oppression, social interaction is at the heart of the sexual objectification phenomenon. Not only are women seen as sexual objects by men, but men communicate these perceptions to women through objectifying behaviors, including gazes, comments, and touch. Objectification theorists and researchers are aware that studying sexual objectification in the context of dynamic interactions is essential. In the articulation of objectification theory, for example, Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) note, 'when objectified, women are *treated* (emphasis added) as bodies' (p. 175). Inherent to Bartky's description (1990) and outlined in objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), women do not come to objectifying interactions as blank slates – they enter such exchanges within a broader cultural context in which the treatment of women as sexual objects is frequent and normalized. These examples highlight the importance objectification scholars have placed on understanding the dynamic and relational nature of objectifying behaviors from the perspective of the objectifier and the objectified.

Thirty years after Bartky's (1990) germinal theorizing and 20 years after the formulation of objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), a literature review revealed that most objectification research

is decidedly non-interactive. According to Google Scholar, objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) has been cited 4,022 times to date, but only 13 studies have examined objectification with interactive paradigms (see **Table 1**). How do men communicate objectification to women and how do women express self-objectification to men? How do men and women interpret and respond to such behaviors? When will people initiate and continue objectifying exchanges, and when will they avoid or terminate such interactions? These questions remain because of methodological limitations inherent to the study of social behavior – investigating the dynamic processes underlying interactions is difficult and resource intensive (e.g., bringing dyads to the laboratory; using highly trained confederates; coding non-verbal behavior). The answers to these questions are also elusive because objectification theory has remained underdeveloped regarding the specific processes underlying objectification in social exchanges.

A social interaction perspective also provides a broader context through which to consider the current objectification literature. Myriad studies reveal the pernicious consequences of sexual objectification including dehumanized perceptions of objectified women (Bernard, Gervais, & Klein, 2018) as well as self-objectification (Roberts, Calogero, & Gervais, 2018). At the same time, some studies show that women continue to interact with objectifying men (Gervais, Allen, Riemer, & Gullickson, 2018; Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2011), purportedly enjoying sexualization (Liss, Erchull, & Ramsey, 2011). Beyond illuminating when and why objectification may be perceived more positively, the SIMO could also help illuminate the processes that promote sexual violence towards women. One word from a woman to a man *should* communicate that she is a human being, not merely a tool for sexual use and abuse. Likewise, women bring self-determination to exchanges with men, yet sometimes act in ways that threaten their own autonomy, safety, and well-being. Thus, an interaction model could also help explicate how pervasive and subtle forms of objectification escalate to sexual harassment and sexual assault.

Providing a framework to answer these questions, we propose the Social Interaction Model of Objectification (SIMO). According to the SIMO, a goals-based, cost–benefit analysis of objectifying behaviors from men and women explains when and why objectifying interactions

Table 1. Summary of interaction objectification studies conducted to date

<i>Authors (year)</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Aim</i>	<i>Key finding</i>
Objectifying gaze					
Calogero (2004)	A test of objectification theory: The effect of the male gaze on appearance concerns in college women	105 female undergraduates	Presumed interaction	'To examine the effect of anticipating a male or female gaze on appearance-related concerns'	'To anticipate a male gaze produced significantly greater body shame and social physique anxiety than anticipating a female gaze'
Saguy, Quinn, Dovidio, and Pratto (2010)	Interacting like a body: Objectification can lead women to narrow their presence in social interactions	207 undergraduates (93 men, 114 women)	Presumed interaction	'To examine the effect of female sexual objectification on her social presence'	'Women who believe that their bodies were visually inspected spend less time talking with men compared to women who were nonsexually objectified'
Gay and Castano (2010)	My body or my mind: The impact of state and trait objectification on women's cognitive resources	75 female undergraduate and graduate students	Presumed interaction	'To provide additional evidence for the effect of objectification on cognitive load as opposed to attention specifically'	'Cognitive load is indeed increased by state objectification, but also more importantly, that this occurs primarily among women high in trait self-objectification'
Guizzo and Cadinu (2017)	Effects of objectifying gaze on female cognitive performance: The role of flow experience and internalization of beauty ideals	107 women	Presumed interaction	'We tested the role of flow experience as one mechanism leading to performance decrement under sexual objectification'	'Under male versus female gaze, higher internalization of beauty ideals was associated with lower flow, which in turn decreased performance'
Gervais, Vescio, and Allen (2011)	When what you see is what you get: The consequences of the objectifying gaze for women and men	150 undergraduates (67 women, 83 men)	Actual interaction	'To examine the effects of the objectifying gaze on math performance, interaction motivation, body surveillance, body shame, and body dissatisfaction'	'The objectifying gaze cause decrements in women's math performance but increase women's motivation to engage in subsequent interactions with their partner'

Table 1. Summary of interaction objectification studies conducted to date (*continued*)

<i>Authors (year)</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Aim</i>	<i>Key finding</i>
Objectifying gaze & commentary					
Wiener, Gervais, Allen, and Marquez, (2013)	Eye of the beholder: Effects of perspective and sexual objectification on harassment judgments	167 female undergraduates	Actual interaction	'To examine the impact of sexual objectification in a simulated job interview on performance, sexual harassment judgments, and emotions on experiencers, observers and predictors women'	'The impact of sexual objectified job interviews is different depending of the women perspective. Specifically, there is a negative effect of sexual objectification anticipation'
Teng, Chen, Poon and Zhang, (2015, Study 2)	Sexual objectification pushes women away: The role of decreased likability	50 female undergraduates	Actual (computer-mediated) interaction	'To examine the effect of sexual objectification on women's intention to affiliate with men'	'The effect of sexual objectification on women's affiliation intention was mediated by the decreased perceived likability'
Gervais, Wiener, Allen, Farnum, and Kimble (2016)	Do you see what I see? The consequences of objectification in work settings for experiencers and third party predictors	150 female undergraduates	Actual interaction	'To examine the impact of sexual objectification on women in work settings'	'The different perspectives of sexual objectification the negative effects on recipients in the work place'
Garcia, Earnshaw, and Quinn (2016)	Objectification in action: Self- and other-objectification in mixed-sex interpersonal interactions	116 participants (mixed-sex dyads)	Actual interaction	'To examine the consequences of being objectified by a partner in the context of a real face-to-face interpersonal interaction'	'Women who are objectify by their male interaction partner was associated with an increase in selfobjectification state and it leads to perceive the interaction as less authentic, having decreased career aspirations, lower cognitive performance, and relationship agency'

Table 1. Summary of interaction objectification studies conducted to date (*continued*)

<i>Authors (year)</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Methodology</i>	<i>Aim</i>	<i>Key finding</i>
Kimble, Farnum, Wiener, Allen, Nuss, and Gervais (2016, Study 1)	Differences in the eyes of the beholders: The roles of subjective and objective judgments in sexual harassment claims	55 female undergraduates	Actual interaction	[To examine] 'the impact of considering perceptions of sexual harassment from multiple perspectives and viewpoints'	'The pervasive objectification delivered by multiple men (compared with 1 man) did not elicit more negative emotion or harm the experiencers' task performance, although it did lead them to make increased judgments of sexual harassment'
Kahalon, Shnabel, and Becker (2018, Study 2)	'Don't bother your pretty little head': Appearance compliments lead to improved mood but impair cognitive performance	156 undergraduate participants (73 women, 75 men)	Actual (computer-mediated) interaction	'To test the prediction that appearance compliments from men would undermine women's performance on a subsequent math test'	'Although appearance compliments led to mood improvement among participants with high trait self-objectification, they also undermined math performance among both women and men'
Strelan and Pagoudis (2018)	Birds of a feather flock together: The interpersonal process of objectification within intimate heterosexual relationships	118 participants (59 heterosexual couples)	Actual interaction	'To test if individuals who self-objectify they will tend to be with partners who self-objectify and who objectify them'	'To the extent that people self-objectify, they will tend to objectify their partners and have partners who objectify them'
Vasquez, Ball, Loughnan, and Pina (2018)	The object of my aggression: Sexual objectification increases physical aggression toward women	208 undergraduates (136 women, 72 men)	Actual interaction	'To examine a causal link between objectification and physical aggression, particularly in the context of provocation'	'Our findings showed that objectification of a woman increased aggression towards her in the absence of a provocation. This effect was independent of participant age, and the pattern of results was very similar across participant gender'

are initiated or avoided, as well as continued or terminated. Goals and related cost–benefit analyses are key interpersonal processes articulated by both goal (Orehek & Forest, 2016; see also Kruglanski *et al.*, 2002) and social exchange (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959) theorists, and we complement these considerations with insights from objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; see also Bartky, 1990; Langton, 2009; Nussbaum, 1999). Following the activation of sexual goals, people calculate the costs and benefits of objectifying exchanges within a broader patriarchal structure in which men have more power than women and women are persistently reduced to their sexual body parts and functions. Thus, objectification in social interactions is not only an interpersonal process, but it is also embedded within an intergroup context occurring between men and women who are further entrenched in a patriarchal culture.

Subtle behavior is also central to the SIMO. Objectification is often conveyed by men through objectifying gazes and is supposedly masked with sexual innuendos, humor, or condescending compliments. Likewise, women sometimes self-sexualize, purposefully presenting as sexual objects to others, including wearing revealing clothing (Smolak, Murnen, & Myers, 2014) or assuming sexy postures (Bernard *et al.*, 2018; Nowatzki & Morry, 2009). Women's presentation as sexual objects also manifests in silencing behaviors (Jack & Dill, 1992), suppressing their own needs and desires during objectifying interactions (Saguy, Quinn, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2010). Our culture socially sanctions such behaviors from men and women. Social norms transmit beliefs that men often do and ought to objectify women, and women should objectify themselves. To illustrate, t-shirts marketed to men display degrading notions about women such as 'your hole is my goal' and t-shirts marketed to women contain self-sexualizing messages such as 'f*ckable'. While these messages represent overt objectification, objectifying behaviors in social exchanges are often subtle, requiring both parties to devote considerable cognitive resources (Gay & Castano, 2010; Gervais, *et al.*, 2011) to decipher the meaning of such behaviors. Misunderstandings (intentional or unintentional) may be common.

While formulating the SIMO, we organize the extant literature that has explicitly examined sexual objectification in interactions answering two questions: What do we already know and what can we learn

about sexual objectification through the study of social exchange? Aware of the challenges of conducting this type of research, we end by highlighting critical directions for future research as well as methodologies that can be used to test the SIMO. Our aim is to promote future interaction research on sexual objectification.

The Social Interaction Model of Objectification (SIMO)

Imagine four scenarios involving a male (M) and a female (F). In Scenario 1, M and F use the Tinder App to find partners for casual sex. After seeing each other's profiles, they both swipe right and an on-line exchange with sexual banter followed by a consensual hookup ensues. Scenario 2 involves F walking down the street when M starts catcalling her in front of a group of other men. She tries to ignore M, reaching her parked car and locking the door as quickly as possible. In Scenario 3, F enters a bar with friends after a break-up, seeking men's sexual advances. F self-sexualizes wearing revealing clothing and making sexual innuendos towards M. F fails to capture M's attention and leaves feeling tired and dejected. Finally, in Scenario 4, M is F's boss, and during a happy hour following work, M compliments F's body because he wants to have sex with her. Uncomfortable, F jokingly brushes off the comments because she wants to be liked, but also respected by her boss. Shortly after that, she slips away and heads home for the evening. Which factors determine how these exchanges will evolve and whether they will continue at all?

While they differ in several regards, we contend that principles of social exchange serve as guides and determine whether these interactions will be evaluated positively and initiated or continued, or whether they will be evaluated negatively and avoided or terminated. Classic models of social exchange use the transaction of resources between people as an organizing principle to understand whether people will continue or terminate their contact with each another (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Resources to achieve goals can be material (e.g., money; sexual favors) or symbolic (e.g., attention; intimacy; status). Exchanges associated with gains and pleasure represent rewards, while exchanges associated with losses and punishment represent costs. Social exchange models assume that social behavior is a series of exchanges in which people aim to maximize

benefits while minimizing costs. Interaction is initiated and persists when costs are lower than benefits, while interaction is avoided and ends when costs are higher than benefits.

A Venn diagram with two overlapping circles represents the SIMO (see **Figure 1**). The potential interactants pass through sequential phases, each of which is structured by the environment, including internalized ideologies and the immediate situation. Like other interaction models (Deaux & Major, 1987; Gervais, 2016; Hebl & Dovidio, 2005), the SIMO considers both perspectives of a dyad. It is a dynamic framework, capturing the give-and-take that occurs during social exchanges as reflected by the overlap of the two circles. Finally, a feedback loop illustrates the iterative nature of sexual objectification.

Figure 1 shows that men and women proceed through the same stages. Early on, the stages contain identical content, but as Figure 2 reveals, the specific processes become distinct over time because men and women come to exchanges with different objectification histories. Prior objectification experiences stem from power differences between men and women due to living in a culture in which most aspects of life are imbued with heterosexuality. Within this culture, norms describe and prescribe that men sexually objectify women and women objectify themselves (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997).

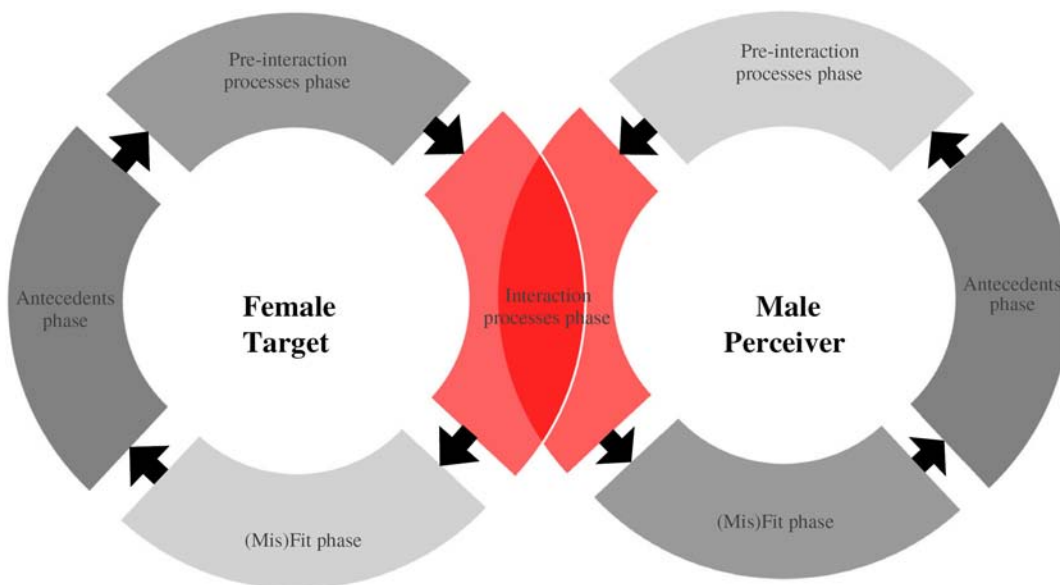


Figure 1. Iterative phases of the Social Interaction Model of Objectification.

Our model starts with antecedent factors described in Figure 2. While heterosexuality saturates patriarchal cultures, there are individual differences in the degree to which people have internalized ideologies that promote objectification. Patriarchal culture also structures the immediate context (e.g., scripts that people bring to the bedroom vs. the boardroom) – objectifying cues in the environment further influence whether an objectifying exchange occurs. Thus, in addition to trait-level factors reflecting internalization of objectifying ideologies, state-level factors specific to the context and roles men and women occupy affect whether an objectifying interaction will ensue.

Whether these antecedent factors result in objectifying exchanges, however, is mediated by pre-interaction processes. These include activation of goals (i.e., desired end-states and means of achieving them) and evaluation of whether a potential interactant facilitates goals. Antecedents and goal processes as well as a cost–benefit analysis determine whether the interactants initiate an objectifying exchange, usually starting with non-verbal behaviors, and potentially progressing to verbal and physical conduct.

Once an interaction begins, perceptions of whether the display or receipt of objectifying behaviors promotes or prevents goals cause people to continue or terminate the interaction. We propose yet to be tested mediators that result in evaluations to initiate or avoid as well as continue or terminate the exchange from one or both parties (Figure 1). Over time, interactants reassess and adjust goals, evaluating whether their partner enables or impedes current goals. If the cost–benefit ratio of continued interaction is high, members of the dyad will stop the interaction, whereas if the ratio is low, they will remain with a feedback loop linking such analysis to reinforce antecedents and prompt additional objectifying behaviors. Like other interaction models (Hebl & Dovidio, 2005), the SIMO explains how objectification unfolds between dyads in the moment. Thus, while there are trait-level antecedents, the remainder of the stages in the model are represented at the state-level.

Antecedents

The SIMO starts with antecedent factors depicted in the first column (men) and first row (women) of **Figure 2**. Individual difference,

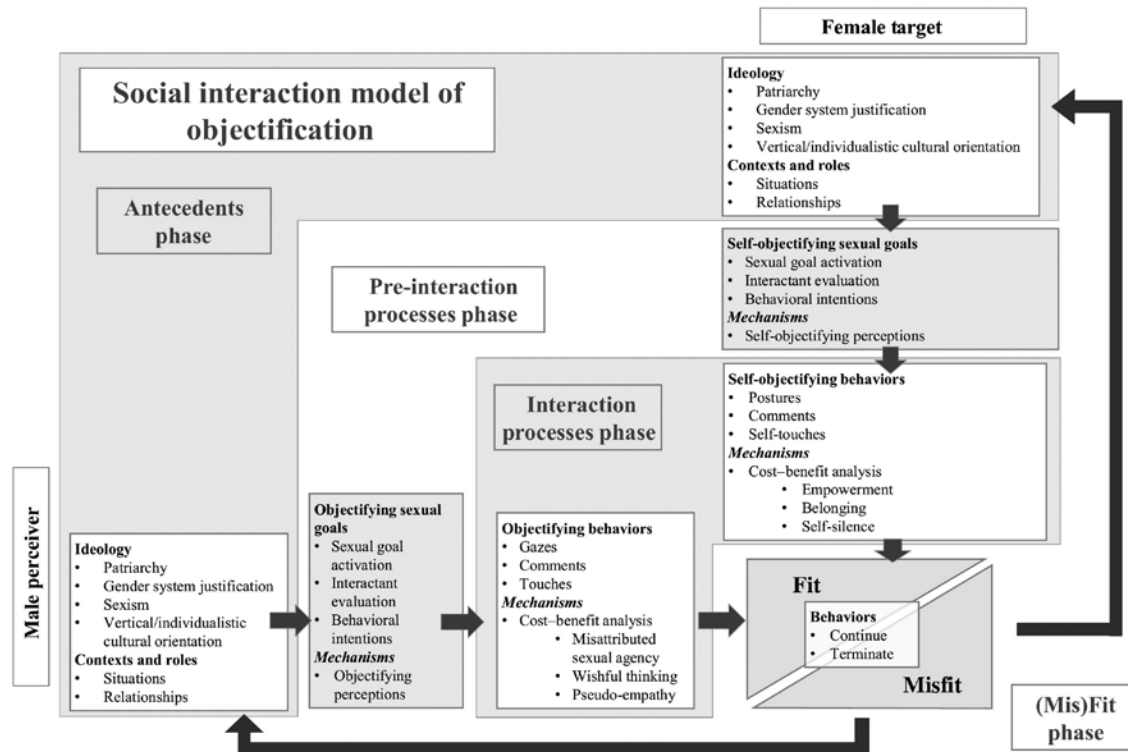


Figure 2. Detailed Social Interaction Model of Objectification.

trait-like dispositions, as well as contextual, state-like factors influence goals in mixed-gender interactions. Misogynists have very different goals in their interactions with women than feminists and strip clubs activate distinct objectives relative to churches. Together, internalized ideologies and the immediate environment influence the goals (desired end-states) and related means (i.e., behaviors) of achieving these goals that come to mind.

Ideology

Ideological variables representing individual differences in the degree to which people have internalized macro-level factors promoting men's structural power over women influence when and with what consequences people become involved with objectifying exchanges (Bartky, 1990; de Beauvoir, 1952; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Frye, 1983; Langton, 2009; LeMoncheck, 1985; MacKinnon, 1987; Nussbaum, 1999; Young, 1990). Men and women who endorse *patriarchy* – internalizing the reality of unequal gender relations at the macro-,

meso-, and micro-level with concomitant beliefs that men are and ought to be superior to women (Rawat, 2014; Yoon *et al.*, 2015) – should initiate objectifying interactions. In particular, the sexuality component of patriarchy justifies the treatment of women as objects for men's sexual satisfaction (Rawat, 2014; Walby, 1990) and should increase the likelihood that both men and women will participate in objectifying exchanges. Still, they should come to these interactions with diverse lenses. On the one hand, men objectify women to reinforce patriarchal systems. Consistently, men's adherence to patriarchy predicts sexual violence towards women (Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002). On the other hand, women's endorsement of patriarchy is associated with self-objectifying beliefs such as the pursuit of beauty standards. Patriarchy promotes a disproportionate focus on appearance management, leaving women less time and energy to devote to other pursuits (e.g., education; work; collective action), buttressing gender inequality (Wolf, 1991). Data supporting the beauty ideals are oppressive (BIO) Hypothesis, for example, show that women's body dissatisfaction is a social mechanism for patriarchal control (Forbes, Collinsworth, Jobe, Braun, & Wise, 2007).

Gender system justification – which rationalizes the sexual division of work (Hoffman & Hurst, 1990) and justifies gender inequality more generally (Jost & Kay, 2005) – is another ideological variable that causes people to participate in objectifying exchanges. Like patriarchy endorsement, system justification may lead men to objectify women and women to accept (and even seemingly encourage) men's objectification during social interactions. Gender system justification prompted by exposure to sexist ideology increases self-objectification in women (Calogero & Jost, 2011; see also Calogero & Tylka, 2014). More generally, belief in a just world in which society is perceived as fair (Lerner, 1980) has also been linked to greater self-reported sexual objectification experiences in women (Papp & Erchull, 2017). Through just world belief, women normalize objectifying behaviors as useful tactics for self-preservation (Papp & Erchull, 2017), but this ideology may increase misperceptions of risk and responsibility of sexual violence. 'Sexual assault within a just world is, therefore, the fault of the subordinate group (women) and their inability to behave correctly around the dominant group (men)' (Papp & Erchull, 2017, p. 111).

Sexism is a third antecedent variable we expect to predict men and women's involvement in objectifying exchanges. Sexism is conceptu-

alized as ambivalent; hostility towards women who deviate from traditional sex roles (i.e., hostile sexism) is intertwined with seemingly positive, yet paternalistic beliefs about women who conform to traditional sex roles (i.e., benevolent sexism; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Similar to patriarchy and system justification, ambivalent sexism endorsement should cause men to engage in more objectifying behaviors towards women and women to accept more objectifying behaviors from men, according to the SIMO. Consistently, men who endorse hostile sexism fail to attribute sexualized women mind (Cikara, Eberhardt, & Fiske, 2011) and report leering and unsolicited sexual contact towards women (Diehl, Rees, & Bohnert, 2018; Gervais, Davidson, Styck, Canivez, & DiLillo, 2018). Likewise, women who endorse more benevolent sexism report more objectifying treatment (Sáez, Valor-Segura, & Expósito, 2019). Beauty norms are more salient for benevolently sexist women, reducing comfort in their own skin (Shepherd *et al.*, 2011) and increasing appearance modification efforts (Calogero & Jost, 2011). Together, these studies suggest that sexist men and women may initiate and continue objectifying exchanges, consistent with the SIMO.

A final set of ideological variables related to the cultural context may predict participation in objectifying exchanges. Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) posited that objectification is more prevalent in Western than Eastern cultures, and empirical studies confirm this reality (Loughnan *et al.*, 2015). Shedding light on a potential mechanism for this difference, *vertical* (vs. horizontal) *individualist* (vs. collectivism) *cultural orientation* predicts sexual objectification perpetration; that is, a focus on the self and a preference for inequality, which is more evident in the West than the East, is associated with objectifying women (Gervais, Bernard, & Riemer, 2015).

Contexts and roles

In addition to the broader culture, there are also implicit and explicit norms in immediate objectifying *situations*. Men may objectify women more in social compared to work settings; a male boss may act professionally with his female subordinates in the office, whereas he may objectify them after hours at the bar. Different interaction content and outcomes result in these situations due to varying social norms and legal constraints. Restrictions on ogling are loosened in social settings

(e.g., a bar, a party) compared to organizational or educational settings (Wiener, Gervais, Allen, & Marquez, 2013). Indeed, there are some sexually objectifying environments (Moffitt & Szymanski, 2011) such as strip clubs or 'breastaurants' (e.g., Hooters) in which objectification is permitted as acceptable and even expected. Of course, there can be cues such as pornography at work or 'locker room talk' at school that normalize sexual objectification even in non-sexual situations.

Social roles and types of *relationships* also influence objectifying interactions between men and women (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). Different relationships cue varying verbal (e.g., self-disclosure, reciprocity) and non-verbal (e.g., frequency of gazing, degree of physical distance) behaviors as well as distinct interpretations of the same behaviors. A casual hookup between strangers following a Tinder connection compared to forced sex between men and women in a committed relationship both contain objectification, but they likely produce different objectification content and outcomes. As another example, depending on whether the source is a stranger or boyfriend, women may interpret the same objectifying comment (e.g., 'hey beautiful') differently, leaving the former while staying with the latter. Consistent with the idea that the relationship will influence women's involvement in objectifying exchanges, positive appearance and sexual body comments from male intimate partners are seen as less objectifying and enjoyed more by women while the same comments from strangers, colleagues, and friends are seen as more objectifying and enjoyed less (Lameiras-Fernández, Fiske, Fernández, & Lopez, 2018; Meltzer, 2019). Beyond different types of relationships, the content and outcomes of objectifying interactions may also depend on the specifics of the relationship. For example, in intimate relationships, objectification outcomes can be influenced by previous objectifying and humanizing interactions (Meltzer & McNulty, 2014).

In summary, during mixed-gender interactions, individual difference and situational factors proceeding from the broader cultural context as well as the immediate environment will result in behavioral involvement in an objectifying interaction. While some obvious sexual settings may lend themselves to objectification, ideology internalization will predict objectifying interactions in some surprising settings (e.g., work, school, public spaces) as well. Based on these considerations, the SIMO posits the following hypotheses:

Hypotheses pertaining to antecedents

1. If men and women have internalized ideological factors associated with objectification (e.g., patriarchy, gender system justification, sexism, or vertical and individualistic cultural orientation), then they will be more likely to become behaviorally involved in an objectifying exchange during a mixed-gender interaction.
2. If situations or relationships contain objectifying cues (e.g., an intimate encounter between relationship partners, locker room talk at work), then men and women will be more likely to become behaviorally involved in an objectifying exchange during a mixed-gender interaction.
3. If men and women have internalized ideological factors *and* they are in situations or relationships that contain objectifying cues, then they will be more likely to become behaviorally involved in an objectifying exchange during a mixed-gender interaction. The presence of one of these factors (either extreme internalization or a very objectifying environment) may be sufficient to cause men and women to become behaviorally involved in an objectifying exchange.

Pre-interaction processes

According to the SIMO, antecedents provide a basis for objectifying interactions by enabling sexual goals – desired sexual end-states with objectifying women as the primary means of attainment. Objectifying sexual goals are supported by objectifying perceptions¹ in men and self-objectifying perceptions bolster self-objectifying sexual goals in women. These elements work together to produce objectifying behaviors from men and self-objectifying behaviors from women in interactions.

¹ In the literature, other-objectification (Bernard et al., 2018) is broadly defined as seeing and treating other people as sexual objects. Likewise, self-objectification is broadly defined as seeing and treating the self as a sexual object (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Roberts et al., 2018). Because the SIMO distinguishes between the perceptions, goals, and treatment of women as objects, we provide more specificity in the current paper referring to the ‘seeing’ aspects as objectifying and self-objectifying perceptions, the goals aspect as objectifying and self-objectifying goals, and ‘treating’ aspects as objectifying and self-objectifying behaviors.

Objectifying sexual goals

Sexual goal activation is the first step towards objectifying sexual goals. Goals (i.e., desired end-states and related means) for power and sex are inextricably connected in patriarchal cultures. Inherent in patriarchal ideologies, for example, is that sexual objectification is a means of reinforcing and re-establishing men's power and domination over women (Rawat, 2014, see also Dworkin, 1991; Frye, 1983; MacKinnon, 1989; Langton, 2009). The connection between power and sex is also bidirectional with desired sexual goals entwined with power inequality between the genders, including male dominance and female submission (Sanchez, Fetterolf, & Rudman, 2012). Men who are likely to sexually harass women, for example, have automatic mental associations between power and sex (Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; see also Rudman & Borgida, 1995).

Concerning the SIMO specifically, power and sex both contribute to objectification perpetration in men and acceptance of objectification in women. To illustrate, men primed with power and sex are more likely to have approach intentions towards an attractive female underling (Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008) and power causes people to cognitively objectify sexualized women (Xiao, Li, Zheng, & Wang, 2019; see also Civile & Obhi, 2016). Priming women with low power causes women to act in line with objectified expectations of others (e.g., eating less following an appearance criticism), while high power causes women to reject such expectations (Allen, Gervais, & Smith, 2013; see also Kozak, Roberts, & Patterson, 2014).

Although prior work shows that power, sex, and objectification are connected (Allen *et al.*, 2013; Civile & Obhi, 2016; Gruenfeld *et al.*, 2008), we know less about specific processes that occur between the activation of sexual goals and the production of objectifying behaviors in interactions. The SIMO suggests that once such goals are activated, men and women engage in *interactant evaluation* – they gauge the degree to which potential interactants will promote (or prevent) their sexual goals, predicting *behavioral intentions* to become involved in an objectifying interaction (or not). This process may be conscious or unconscious, similar to other instances of goal pursuit (Bargh, Gollwitzer, Lee-Chai, Barndollar, & Trötschel, 2001; Custers & Aarts, 2005). Regardless, the SIMO suggests that sexual goals cause men and women to become behaviorally involved in objectifying interactions.

The behaviors are often complementary with men objectifying women and women objectifying themselves, serving to reinforce power differences in the immediate environment as well as the broader culture.

Generally speaking, activated goals bring to mind people who can enable such objectives, with people evaluating instrumental others more positively and approaching them more readily relative to non-instrumental others (Fitzsimons & Fishbach, 2010; Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008; Gruenfeld *et al.*, 2008). Void of the cultural context, when sexual goals are activated, heterosexual men (and women) should evaluate women (men) who facilitate those goals more positively similar to how we value and approach other useful people (e.g., friends, colleagues, intimate partners; Orehek & Weaverling, 2017).

Yet, sexual goals do not occur in a vacuum. Instead, the cultural context produces antecedent factors in which men are dominant sexual agents, and women are passive sexual objects. Thus, when sexual goals are activated in men, evaluation of potential interactants should be connected to the notion that men can and should use women as sexual objects. For women, evaluation of interactants should be influenced by norms regarding seeing and treating the *self* as a sexual object. To be clear, mutual objectification can and does occur – women sometimes objectify men and men self-objectify (Strelan & Hargreaves, 2005; Strelan & Pagoudis, 2018). Even so, given the cultural context and backlash associated with violating traditional sex roles (e.g., women who are assertive sexual agents receive social sanctions; Klein, Imhoff, Reininger, & Briken, 2019), the inverse is expected in most interactions.

Focusing first on male perceivers, the SIMO suggests that following sexual goal activation, perceivers evaluate the degree to which specific women in their environment are instrumental or useful to their goals. Consistently, activation of men's sexual goals causes them to associate less human traits and more animal traits to scantily clad, attractive women (Vaes, Paladino, & Puvia, 2011). The SIMO suggests that seeing women as instrumental to sexual goals will be associated with an increased likelihood of initiating an objectifying interaction. Consistent with this notion, sexual goal activation for powerful men increases reported intentions to approach an attractive woman (Gruenfeld *et al.*, 2008). While researchers have not assessed actual objectifying actions following sexual goal activation, intentions are a first step towards initiating behaviors.

Prior work has examined sexual goals and plans to approach sexually attractive and powerless women, but because objectification stems from broader goals to dominate women, men may also initiate objectifying interactions with women who violate sex roles such as less attractive women and powerful women. Indeed, women who are more assertive, dominant, and independent (vs. less of these characteristics) experience more sexual harassment (Berdahl, 2007). There is little research evaluating the different ways objectifying behaviors manifest in interactions with women who fit conventional sex roles (e.g., White, sexually available, curvaceous, thin) relative to women who do not (e.g., racial/ethnic minorities, sexually unavailable, less well-proportioned, overweight, c.f., Gervais, Holland, & Dodd, 2013; Holland & Haslam, 2013). The majority of objectification studies from perceivers have focused on very attractive, young, White, swimsuit, and lingerie models (Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Campomizzi, & Klein, 2012; Loughnan *et al.*, 2010; Vaes *et al.*, 2011), whereas women of all shapes and sizes, ages, colors, and backgrounds report experiencing objectification (Kozee, Tylka, Augustus-Horvath, & Denchik, 2007).

Because objectification is theorized to strengthen and restore patriarchy (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997), it is possible that a man could objectify any woman as a means towards attaining sexual goals. Objectifying behaviors, however, may assume a different tone depending on the degree to which the woman confirms or violates sex role norms. On the one hand, women who conform to conventional standards of attractiveness may be the recipients of appreciative gazes and appearance compliments, keeping these women in their place. On the other hand, women who violate such rules may receive disgusted gazes or appearance criticisms meant to return these women to their place. Consistent with this possibility, using eye-tracking, Gervais *et al.* (2013) found that men gazed at attractive women's breasts longer than unattractive women's breasts, whereas they gazed at unattractive women's waists longer than attractive women's waists (see also Holland & Haslam, 2013).²

² Being evaluated as irrelevant or useless to sexual goals and being avoided or completely overlooked during social interactions with men likely come with costs to women, especially in a culture in which women have been socialized to garner their self-worth from the degree to which they are viewed as worthy by men. It is important that future research examines the hyper-visibility that comes from being viewed as facilitating men's sexual goals as well as the invisibility that follows from worthless evaluations.

Thus, objectification was directed towards all women, but the manifested gazing pattern depended on attractiveness.

While we are aware of no research that has explicitly examined tenets of the SIMO, previous objectification research with perceivers is consistent with the framework. Overall, a substantial literature on *objectifying perceptions* reveals that thinking of women in sexual ways (e.g., prompting perceivers to focus on a woman's appearance, Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; or her body or sexual body parts, Bernard *et al.*, 2012; Loughnan *et al.*, 2010) causes a fundamental shift in person perception. A sexual lens causes women to be seen more as objects and less as humans, which can be used as instruments for other people's goals. To illustrate, perceivers fail to attribute sexualized women mind and moral agency (Holland & Haslam, 2016; Loughnan *et al.*, 2010) and deny them human attributes including competence, warmth, and morality (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Heflick, Goldenberg, Cooper, & Puvia, 2011). Perceivers also associate those they objectify with animals (Vaes *et al.*, 2011) and objects (Rudman & Mescher, 2012), seeing objectified targets in a piecemeal manner (Bernard *et al.*, 2012; Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2012) and as interchangeable with others (Cikara *et al.*, 2011; Gervais *et al.*, 2012). Consistent with the SIMO, men who endorse hostile sexism are more likely to perceive women as objects, seeing sexy women as interchangeable with one another and inhibiting neural responses needed for human cognition (Cikara *et al.*, 2011).

Self-objectifying sexual goals

Due to power differences between men and women, objectifying interactions may occur regardless of women's sexual goals (hence objectification's power). At the same time, as Figure 1 shows, we suggest that ideology internalization and the immediate environment affect women's pre-interaction goal processes. Like men's sexual desires, patriarchal cultures powerfully shape women's goal processes before interactions with men. Patriarchal cultures infused with notions that women are and should be sexual objects rather than sexual agents (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Manne, 2018), often confound women's *sexual desire* with the notion that they should be *sexually desirable* in the eyes of men.

Many studies have revealed that persistent exposure to cultural (e.g., the media) and contextual (e.g., objectifying interactions) sources of objectification result in women seeing themselves as sexual objects, adopting an observer's perspective of their physical selves (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997, see Roberts *et al.*, 2018 for review). When looking at themselves in a mirror, for example, women high on trait self-objectification report that their physical appearance attributes are more important to their self-concept than their non-physical internal attributes (Fredrickson, Roberts, Noll, Quinn, & Twenge, 1998; see also Hebl, King, & Lin, 2004; Martins, Tiggemann, & Churchett, 2008; Quinn, Kallen, & Cathey, 2006). Women also attribute themselves less warmth, competence, morality, and humanness (Loughnan, Baldissarri, Spaccatini, & Elder, 2017) and tend to implicitly associate themselves with objects (Morris, Goldenberg, & Heflick, 2014).

These *self-objectifying perceptions* should be marked by a shift in self-definition for women during interactions with men. For a self-objectifying woman, her enjoyment of the interaction with a man should come less from her internal experience. Instead, success during the exchange should follow more from the perception that the man likes her sexual conduct. To be clear, heterosexual women often have sexual goals and want to have sex during their interactions with men. Self-objectifying perceptions, however, result in women being more focused on becoming desirable to potential male partners, and therefore basing their worth on their ability to fulfil the sexual goals of men even when their own sexual goals are activated.

Thus, the SIMO suggests that when women self-objectify, they will evaluate potential men in their environment, assessing the degree to which they could enable men's sexual goals. Following women's *sexual goal activation*, women should look for attractive and sexually desirable men (*interactant evaluation*). Nonetheless, given the patriarchal culture, women who self-objectify may focus more on their ability to promote these men's sexual desires. They will have *behavioral intentions* of becoming involved in an objectifying interaction, marking success with the receipt of objectifying behaviors from attractive men, rather than engaging in objectifying behaviors towards men. Consistent with the idea that women's sexual goals are entwined with submissiveness and being viewed as desirable in the eyes of others, women automatically associate sex-related words (e.g., sex, bed) with submissive words (e.g., submit, weaken, Kiefer, Sanchez, Kalinka, &

Ybarra, 2006; Sanchez, Kiefer, & Ybarra, 2006). Unfortunately, women who conform to sex roles experience less sexual pleasure because their self-worth depends on other people's approval (Sanchez, Crocker, & Boike, 2005). Even in cases when women act as sexual agents rather than passive objects, norms often constrain their actions, restricting women to the sex object role (e.g., engaging in self-sexualization, Smolak *et al.*, 2014; see also Calogero & Siegel, 2018).

Hypotheses pertaining to pre-interaction processes

1. If objectifying sexual goals are activated in men, then they will (a) evaluate women who are perceived as facilitating their sexual goals positively and (b) intend to initiate objectifying behavior in an interaction. These processes will be mediated by (c) perceiving women as sexual objects (i.e., objectifying perceptions).
2. If self-objectifying sexual goals are activated in women, then they will (a) evaluate men who are perceived as facilitating these goals positively and (b) intend to initiate self-objectifying behavior in an interaction. These processes will be mediated by (c) perceiving the self as a sexual object (i.e., self-objectifying perceptions).

Interaction processes

According to the SIMO, pre-interaction goal processes influence the expression of nonverbal, verbal, and physical behaviors (see Figures 1 and 2). Indeed, behaviors are central to the SIMO. Most objectification studies that have focused on behaviors, including questionnaire measures (Calogero & Thompson, 2009; Gervais, Davidson, *et al.*, 2018; Kozee *et al.*, 2007) or vignettes containing hypothetical scenarios (Gervais *et al.*, 2018; Lameiras-Fernández *et al.*, 2018), suffer from inherent limitations including biases in retrospective and introspective self-reports (Baumeister, Vohs, & Funder, 2007). For example, previous research shows that women overestimate how frequently they will confront sexist and objectifying commentary when they anticipate versus actually encounter such conduct (Swim & Hyers, 1999). One reason for this discrepancy and consistent with the SIMO is that when imagining how they will respond, women fail to consider the

interpersonal costs of confronting sexism during actual interactions (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). It remains unclear, however, whether a similar cost–benefit analysis would apply to the initiation of objectifying behaviors. Thus, while men and women may bring objectifying and self-objectifying intentions to their interactions with one another, social exchange theory suggests they will only implement related behaviors when the benefits outweigh the costs.

Objectifying behaviors

Sexual objectification is theorized as manifesting in a few particular ways that men and women are exposed to during their socialization (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). These behaviors are best understood as lying along a continuum from the most subtle (e.g., looking at the female body) to the most extreme (e.g., contact with women's sexual body parts, Gervais, Davidson, Styck, Canivez, & DiLillo, 2018; Kozee *et al.*, 2007). While few objectification studies examine the causes or consequences of objectifying behavior within interactions, there are a handful of studies that have examined self-reports of objectification (both self and partner) following interactions (Garcia, Earnshaw, & Quinn, 2016; Strelan & Pagoudis, 2018) as well as behaviors during in-person (Gervais *et al.*, 2011) or supposed (Calogero, 2004; Saguy *et al.*, 2010) interactions. Thus, we highlight existing studies that have considered objectification in interactions and examined actual or presumed objectifying behaviors (see Table 1).

Objectifying *gazes* are defined as visually inspecting bodies or sexualized body parts (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Gervais *et al.*, 2013). For perpetrators, body gazing is the most common objectifying behavior (Gervais *et al.*, 2018) and is related to more extreme behaviors including sexual assault (Gervais *et al.*, 2014). For targets, objectifying gazes undermine both attention and cognitive functioning (Gervais *et al.*, 2011; Guizzo & Cadinu, 2017). In the context of actual interactions, they also increase deleterious psychosocial outcomes, including physical anxiety, body shame, cognitive deficits, and self-silencing in women (Calogero, 2004; Gervais *et al.*, 2011; Saguy *et al.*, 2010; see Table 1).

An important component of objectification is informing women that they have been relegated to sexual objects, as reflected in objectifying *comments* (Bartky, 1990). For instance, many women report

experiencing objectifying comments every few days, including catcalls, whistles, sexual jokes, seductive remarks, and sexist remarks (Fairchild, 2010; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Holland, Koval, Stratemeyer, Thomson, & Haslam, 2017; Saunders, Scaturro, Guarino, & Kelly, 2017). Perpetrators of this commentary are usually men (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Gervais, Davidson, *et al.*, 2018), and the receipt of such behaviors increases women's body dissatisfaction (Herbozo & Thompson, 2006) and body shame (Tiggemann & Boundy, 2008).

Research has also begun to examine the role of objectifying commentary specifically within interactions (see Table 1). In a study examining the role of objectification compliments (e.g., 'Your top looks good on you. Your body shape is quite nice') on women's intentions to affiliate with men, for instance, women reported less liking of the objectifying man (Teng, Chen, Poon, & Zhang, 2015). Objectifying gazes paired with an objectifying comment also undermine women's work performance (Gervais *et al.*, 2011; Gervais, Wiener, Allen, Farnum, & Kimble, 2016; Kahalon, Shnabel, & Becker, 2018; Kimble *et al.*, 2016; Wiener *et al.*, 2013). While the consequences of objectifying comments on women have been examined, little to no research has examined when and why men engage in these remarks in the first place. The SIMO provides a starting point to consider these and related questions.

On the extreme end of the continuum, objectification manifests as unsolicited sexual *touches* (Kozee *et al.*, 2007). These overt behaviors occur less frequently than more subtle objectification (e.g., gazes, commentary, Gervais, Davidson, *et al.*, 2018; Kozee *et al.*, 2007; Miles-McLean *et al.*, 2015) and like other objectifying behaviors, they are perpetrated mostly by men (Gervais, Davidson, *et al.*, 2018; Jewell & Brown, 2013). Initial unwanted sexual contact (Franz, DiLillo, & Gervais, 2016; Gervais, DiLillo, & McChargue, 2014) predicts sexual assault perpetration (i.e., verbally coerced intercourse, attempted rape, and rape). Like other physical forms of assault (e.g., hitting women), unwanted sexual touching also is related to trauma symptoms in women (Miles-McLean *et al.*, 2015).

The SIMO hypothesizes that unsolicited sexual contact precedes more extreme sexual victimization during a specific interaction, including interactions in which the woman attempts to terminate the interaction, but the male perceiver does not accept her refusal. Consistently, Pryor (1987) found that men who engaged in more sexual

contact with a female confederate during a golf lesson in which hands-on training was permitted, also reported a higher propensity to engage in quid pro quo sexual harassment. While there are no studies that have focused on sexual touch and objectification explicitly, Vasquez, Ball, Loughnan, and Pina (2018; see Table 1) found that participants who focused on a female confederate's appearance (vs. her personality) were more likely to aggress towards her via increasing the amount of time she was required to hold her hand in an ice-bath. Thus, while touch has not explicitly been examined, subjecting women to an unwanted physical experience has been connected to objectifying perceptions.

We think it is safe to assume that the objectifying perceptions that have been documented in extant literature (see Bernard *et al.*, 2018, for review) are connected to treating women as objects. Because researchers have not examined actual social exchanges, however, the specific mechanisms of objectifying treatment during interactions with women are less clear. The SIMO suggests that men will engage in a *cost-benefit analysis* of treating women as objects. Some benefits may include feelings of power and control or sexual satisfaction, while potential rejection might factor in as a cost. Because objectifying gazes are socially sanctioned with plausible deniability (e.g., 'You can look as long as you don't touch'. 'I was looking at your name badge and not your chest'), the SIMO implies that these will be the most common forms of objectifying behaviors that men engage in because the potential benefits outweigh the costs. There also may be a biased set of calculations that make the cost-to-benefit ratio of objectifying behaviors more generally especially low in men's minds.

At first blush, it may be difficult to understand how women can be seen as objects during interpersonal interactions because women – even objectified women – are *not* things (Heider, 1958; Ostrom, 1984). Despite representations of women in the media, women are not literally the same as cell phones, beer bottles, or cars. During social interactions, people strive to develop an accurate shared social understanding (Echterhoff, Higgins, & Levine, 2009; Harackiewicz & DePaulo, 1982; Kelley, 1967; Snyder, 1992; Swann, 1984) and one utterance from a woman should remind a man that she is a fellow human being, not a sex object. Cooperation from women is also necessary for men to reach sexual goals (Rudman, 2017; Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014) and treating women solely as objects devoid of thoughts and

feelings could backfire on men, leading to open hostility and rejection from women. How do men continue to see women as objects during social interactions, despite clear evidence to the contrary?

Some research reveals that sexual objectification causes people to dehumanize women (i.e., ascribe fewer human traits to them), seeing women as passive and devoid of agency (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan *et al.*, 2010). Objectifying a woman, however, may also entail attributing agency to her in the form of sexual intent. Misperceiving a behavior as sexually motivated is frequent (Abbey, 1987; Farris, Treat, Viken, & McFall, 2008) and occurs more often among men towards women than vice versa.

When a man interacts with a woman who can enable his sexual goals, the interaction may proceed in ways that confirm that the woman exists for the man's sexual pleasure. Thus, while a woman could be attributed subjectivity and autonomy, these attributions could be colored by men's sexual desires, through a form of social projection (Dunlop, McCoy, Harake, & Gray, 2018; Lenton, Bryan, Hastie, & Fischer, 2007). To the extent that such *misattributed sexual agency* is limited to the sexual domain, it represents a cognitive mechanism for objectifying the woman to fulfil the man's sexual goals (Langton, 2009). This represents a form of relative dehumanization (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014), in which a man grants a woman conditional humanity, but only in the sexual domain while stripping her humanity in other domains. If men expect that women can be used to fulfil their sexual desires, then they may notice, comprehend, and remember information, suggesting that women are and want to be men's sexual playthings while ignoring information that disconfirms this notion.

Langton (2009) has suggested that men engage in two perceptual confirmation processes (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977) during interactions with women that we believe may boost sexual agency misattributions. First, men's beliefs are projected onto women through *wishful thinking*. Men perceive that women have matching desires – men come to believe that women desire to do what men desire to do. That is, men's metabelief that 'I desire that she desires this' transforms into the belief that 'She desires this' (Langton, 2009, p. 298). Second, men may experience *pseudo-empathy*. Like wishful thinking, men perceive that women want what men want, but through spurious empathy. Men think 'I desire this', which transforms to 'She must also desire this'. This contrived empathy represents a form of social projection

(Dunlop *et al.*, 2018; Lenton *et al.*, 2007), or the tendency to expect similarities between oneself and others. Faced with some uncertainty about a woman's desires and intentions, men may rely on their own.³

Self-objectifying behaviors

Awareness of the dynamics of social interactions is also essential to understanding women's self-objectifying behaviors as well as their responses to men's objectifying behaviors. Most facets of women's lives are permeated with sexual objectification. To understand and gain predictability in their social worlds, women often accept and even justify this system that oppresses them (Calogero, 2013). Even though objectification negatively affects women's health and social outcomes, for example, some women enjoy sexualization, which increases positive perceptions of objectifying experiences (Liss *et al.*, 2011).

Women with self-objectifying sexual goals may advertise their interest in being objectified by men. Self-objectifying perceptions, for example, are associated with self-sexualization such as pole dancing, wearing tight and revealing clothing, and posting sexy selfies on social media (Liss *et al.*, 2011; Nowatzki & Morry, 2009; Smolak *et al.*, 2014). We know less about the self-objectifying behaviors that women engage in specifically during their social interactions with men. Of the limited research conducted, it appears that there may be non-verbal, verbal, and physical behaviors that are intended to elicit objectifying gazes, commentary, and touch from men. For example, one third of heterosexual college women report kissing other women at parties (Yost & McCarthy, 2012) and the primary motivator is male sexual attention including 'turning on' a boyfriend or communicating sexual availability to eligible men. The SIMO suggests that when self-objectifying sexual goals are activated, women may self-objectify, mirroring men's objectifying behaviors. We are aware of no systematic investigation of the self-objectifying behaviors that women

³ While such projection is consistent with the literature on behavioral confirmation (Snyder *et al.*, 1977), rape myth acceptance (Burt, 1980), and misperception of sexual interest (Abbey, 1987), it diverges somewhat from the social projection literature in social psychology. Indeed, in that literature, projection is particularly likely with similar others and especially ingroups (cf. Robbins & Krueger, 2005). Yet, sexual objectification involves a form of alienation of the targeted women in which men deny them the full humanity they ascribe to themselves. Further exploring this paradox should figure prominently on the agenda of future objectification research.

enact during interactions with men, but these may include adopting sexualized *postures* (e.g., putting one's hand on her hip, Bernard *et al.*, 2018), *comments* (e.g., sexual banter and innuendos, Nowatzki & Morry, 2009), and *self-touches* (e.g., licking one's lips or running one's fingers through one's hair, Smolak *et al.*, 2014).

Women with self-objectifying sexual goals will engage in a *cost-benefit analysis* of self-objectifying behaviors. Sexual satisfaction, feelings of empowerment and belonging (Allen & Gervais, 2012), as well as momentary increases in self-esteem (Breines, Crocker, & Garcia, 2008; Yost & McCarthy, 2012), represent potential benefits. Nonetheless, a woman who self-objectifies also runs the risk of being rejected by men or men misinterpreting her behavior as tacit consent for more extreme objectification. Sexualized women, for example, are held responsible for sexual victimization (Burt, 1980), despite the blame for sexual aggression falling squarely on perpetrators. Indeed, sexually objectified women are misperceived as more responsible for sexual violence including sexual assault (Bernard, Gervais, Allen, Delmée, & Klein, 2015; Loughnan, Pina, Vasquez, & Puvia, 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2012) and sexual harassment (Bernard, Legrand, & Klein, 2018; Galdi, Maass, & Cadinu, 2014) than their humanized counterparts.

Still, the cultural milieu socializes women to see the potential benefits of engaging in self-objectification while rarely announcing the costs associated with such behaviors. Self-sexualization, for example, is sold to women as a means of *empowerment* or *belonging* in situations with men (Allen & Gervais, 2012; see also Liss *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, due to social inequality, women are socialized to put men's needs first and *self-silence* feelings, thoughts, and actions to create and maintain intimate relationships with men (Jack, 2011; Jack & Dill, 1992). Indeed, when women are objectified during interactions, they speak less (Saguy *et al.*, 2010).

When considering the potential costs and benefits of objectifying interactions, it is useful to remember that women often experience several goals during their interactions with men due to self-objectification and the female sex role. Norris, Nurius, and Dimeff (1996) exemplified the competing goals that women may experience more generally in social situations with men: 'On the one hand, traditional sex roles promote behaviors intended to attract a man (e.g., dressing and acting sexy) and to assume responsibility for the quality of their social interactions (e.g., to be flattering of him; to smooth ruffled feelings

and awkward moments between them). On the other hand, the high prevalence of sexual assault by acquaintances requires women to be alert to risk and self-protective with the same men they are expected to attract. In addition to pursuing simultaneously conflicting goals of affiliation and safety, women also face the strain of expressing their sexuality in a sociopolitical context that supports a double standard for men and women. . . women must 'walk a cognitive tight rope' when they are in a dating or other social situation' (p. 137).

While Norris *et al.* (1996) introduced the cognitive tightrope metaphor over 20 years ago, we think it still represents a useful illustration of the complexity surrounding potential costs and benefits of objectification for women as it unfolds during interactions. Indeed, feminist scholars have recently discussed the contradictory nature of sexual empowerment in women's relations with men (Burkett & Hamilton, 2012; Levy, 2005). On the one hand, post-feminist messages in the popular media communicate that women are empowered sexual subjects free to express their sexuality in any way they see fit. On the other hand, the means of women's sexual empowerment often maps directly onto heteronormative expectations with women 'freely choosing' to engage in self-sexualization that is more about pleasuring men than experiencing sexual pleasure themselves (Gill, 2007). Furthermore, they may experience more blame (Burt, 1980) including self-blame following sexual violence because of their choices.

Hypotheses pertaining to interaction processes

1. If objectifying sexual goals are activated in men, then they will engage in objectifying gazes, commentary, and touches with women if the benefits outweigh the costs. (a) Misattributed sexual agency, (b) wishful thinking, and (c) pseudo-empathy increase the perception of high benefits for low costs.
2. If self-objectifying sexual goals are activated in women, women will initiate self-objectifying behaviors, including sexualized postures, commentary, and self-touches if the benefits outweigh the costs. (a) Anticipated empowerment, (b) anticipated belonging, and (c) self-silencing increase the perception of high benefits for low costs.

Objectification fit or misfit: Continuing (or terminating) interactions

Throughout interactions, men and women engage in a series of cost–benefit analyses that inform ensuing goals and behaviors (see Figures 1 and 2). When objectifying behaviors unfold during interactions, a process of goal negotiation results whereby men and women strive towards their respective goals. According to the SIMO, how the interactants perceive their partner's objectifying behaviors depends on their own goals, assessment of whether the interactant facilitates or thwarts their goals, and the related cost–benefit analysis. Depending on the degree to which each interaction partner enables or impedes goals, being beneficial or costly for one party, the other, or both, the cost–benefit ratio calculation will shape the behaviors that communicate whether they desire to continue or terminate the interaction.

Objectification fit

Objectification fit is conceptualized as the degree to which the man views the woman as promoting his goals while at the same time, the woman views the man as facilitating her goals. Objectification fit can be achieved when men and women have similar or complementary goals. In Scenario 1 presented at the outset, for example, sexual goals were activated for M and F and both M and F engaged in objectifying behaviors towards one another first via Tinder and then in person. Both M and F may hold similar sexual goals and thus be mutually supporting each other's goals and experiencing fit. Strictly speaking, they may be objectifying each other in that context, but because it is mutual and reciprocal (Orehek & Weaverling, 2017), the interactants will view the other person as advancing their goals and choose to continue such interactions. This would represent a typical cost–benefit analysis in a social exchange that is void of the larger cultural context.

Antecedent factors, however, cause men to view women as sexual objects and women to view themselves as sexual objects. Thus, the SIMO suggests that objectification fit may be achieved through another related set of processes. Whereas fit in the above context is represented by the *same* goal for the man and woman, objectification fit also could be achieved if they have *complementary* goals. For

example, if the man wishes to be sexually satisfied by a woman and a woman wishes to sexually satisfy a man, then the man's sexualized gazing and comments will be interpreted by the woman as facilitating her goals and women's self-sexualizing behaviors will be interpreted as goal-conducive by the man. Both parties will see the benefits of continued interaction as outweighing the costs.

While we are aware of no research that has examined men's perceptions of costs and benefits following self-sexualization from women, there is evidence that objectification experiences are perceived as beneficial to some women. Using an experience sampling approach, for example, Breines *et al.* (2008) found that women with high self-esteem and appearance contingent self-worth reported increased well-being when they self-objectified. Likewise, self-objectifying women feel proud and empowered when thinking about being sexualized by men (Liss *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore, women report more interaction motivation towards men following complimentary objectification (Gervais *et al.*, 2011), especially when they feel sexy (Gervais, Allen, *et al.*, 2018).

Although Scenario 1 represents a situation when the same or complementary goals are facilitated and the interaction continues, it still may result in the many negative outcomes for women (Bernard *et al.*, 2018; Roberts *et al.*, 2018). When men objectify women and women self-objectify in intimate relationships, women *and men* report less relationship and sexual satisfaction (Sáez, Riemer, Brock, & Gervais, 2019; Zurbriggen, Ramsey, & Jaworski, 2011). Processes of objectification fit helps shed light on why women sometimes seek out or tolerate objectifying behaviors for short-term benefits (Gervais *et al.*, 2018; Gervais *et al.*, 2011; Liss *et al.*, 2011), despite long-term costs (Calogero, Tantleff-Dunn, & Thompson, 2011; Moradi & Huang, 2008; Roberts *et al.*, 2018). Thus, situations of objectification fit may reinforce patriarchal notions that men can and should treat women as sex objects and women should treat themselves as sex objects.

Power differences between men and women also make sexual exploitation – “the use of social power inherent in a role or a particular situation to elicit sex from another person often through the threat of punishment or the promise of reward” – possible (Pryor, 1987, p. 273). Pryor (1987) noted that instances of quid pro harassment exemplify this exploitive relationship with explicit costs or benefits that may tilt the scale in favour of continued interaction. In the context of

the SIMO, even subtle forms of sexual exploitation may be possible under conditions of objectification fit because of power differences between men and women conferred by the immediate context and/or social structure.

A potential mechanism of continued interaction from the female side is self-silencing. In the context of objectifying interactions, women may spend less time talking (Saguy *et al.*, 2010) and when they do, they may inhibit the expression of their own needs and desires to avoid conflict in the relationship (Jack & Dill, 1992). On the one hand, women may self-silence because they are thinking of themselves as an object and desire the objectifying interaction to proceed. For these women, self-silencing occurs because of their internalization of objectification and acts as a way of facilitating the interaction. On the other hand, women may engage in self-silencing behaviors, not because they desire the interaction to continue, but because they ascribe to traditional sex roles in which women are prescribed to be nice, quiet, and polite always putting other people's feelings before their own (Jack & Dill, 1992; Watson & Grotewiel, 2016). Thus, women may continue objectifying interactions even though they desire to terminate them because of cultural expectations about appropriately feminine behavior. Examples of 'Cat Person' sex' (Roupenian, 2017) or begrudgingly consensual sex (Bennett, 2017) when women continue sexual encounters despite their internal desire to terminate them illustrate this general phenomenon (see also Norris *et al.*, 1996).

Objectification misfit

Objectification misfit is conceptualized as the degree to which the man and/or woman view the other as impeding each other's goals and occurs when their goals are incompatible. In the instance of street harassment represented in Scenario 2, for example, M may have had a power-related sexual goal, which caused him to objectify F. F's goals, however, were likely not sexual. She may have been headed to school or work (e.g., achievement goal), she may have been off to meet friends (e.g., an affiliation goal), or she may have been on her way to the grocery store (e.g., meeting basic needs such as food, water, shelter). M's goals, therefore, are a mismatch for F's goals and the interaction should end quickly.

Termination, however, may take different forms. On the one hand, F may overtly confront M, voicing her dislike for him and his conduct. While possible, women rarely confront sexist men (Swim & Hyers, 1999). In cases of stranger harassment, women may be concerned with their safety (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). In cases of objectification from acquaintances and in existing relationships (e.g., with one's boss; with a former relationship partner), women may prioritize smooth interactions and more subtly reject objectifying men, perhaps allowing them to save face by acting friendly while looking for an opportunity to leave the situation. Given the power dynamics inherent within objectifying interactions, confronting men is costly for women (e.g., hostility, safety). Because of this, the cost–benefits ratio of confronting (e.g., backlash, Kaiser & Miller, 2001) may be high and women may choose not to overtly terminate objectifying interactions even if they desire to do so.

Scenario 3 represents another instance of objectification misfit, but with a very different set of power dynamics. Here, F has the sexual goal while M does not. F self-sexualizes, while M is oblivious. In the context of the SIMO, the interaction should terminate quickly because M's goals are incompatible with F's goals and F has little to no power over M. When women's sexual goals, which are deeply connected with garnering sexual attention from men, are paired with men's avoidance behaviors, women may experience shame, anxiety, and sadness because men's behaviors indicate that they are not seen as valuable objects. For women whose worth comes from being viewed as attractive by men, this type of rejection may be particularly likely to get under their skin.

Finally, Scenario 4 represents another instance of objectification misfit, when employee F has drinks with her boss M after work. M wants sex while F begins by acting friendly, as to not lose her job and to conform to traditional sex roles. In this instance, men and women's goals are once again at odds with one another. The boss has a sexual goal (likely encouraged by his powerful role) while the worker has an achievement and/or affiliation goal. Because the parties have incompatible goals – M wants sex while F wants to do her job – the interaction *should* terminate. Upon evaluation of F, M should see that buying her drinks and propositioning her are unlikely to yield the outcome he is seeking. The resulting evaluation of F should be that she will impede his sexual goals and the costs of continued interaction should

outweigh the benefits, resulting in termination. Further, while social situations (e.g., attending happy hour) can be useful professional activities (e.g., networking), F should evaluate M's objectifying behaviors in light of her professional goals and end the interaction. Thus, like the other scenarios involving objectification misfit, termination of the interaction should occur, but these situations can sometimes result in continued interaction potentially escalating to sexual harassment or sexual assault.

Sexual violence may be encouraged by men's misattributions of women's sexual agency through increased wishful thinking and pseudo-empathy. If a woman initially responds in a friendly manner to a man's objectifying behaviors to conform to the female sex role (Jack & Dill, 1992), but then rejects him, he may get the impression that the woman purposefully led him on (Norris *et al.*, 1996; see also Glick & Fiske, 1996). Importantly, even when women actively confront, they may still experience sexual violence. Men who are overtly rejected by female interaction partners report experiencing body shame, and body shame is linked to sexual aggression (Mescher & Rudman, 2014). Thus, objectification misfit can result in sexual violence through both implicit or explicit processes occurring in male perpetrators and related processes triggered in women due to men's objectifying behaviors and the female sex role.

Hypotheses pertaining to continuing (or terminating) the interaction

1. If men and women's sexual goals are the same, then both parties will evaluate the objectifying behavior from the other person positively (i.e., objectification fit). They will see the benefits of maintained interaction as higher than the costs and continue the interaction.
2. If men and women's sexual goals are complementary, men will evaluate self-objectifying behavior from women positively, and women will evaluate objectifying behavior from men positively (i.e., objectification fit). Both parties will see the benefits of maintained interaction as higher than costs and continue the interaction. While these interactions are technically consensual, we would argue they can be exploitive due to the power differences between men and women.

3. If men and women's goals are incompatible, then one or both parties will evaluate the other person negatively (i.e., objectification misfit). One or both parties will see the costs of continued interaction as higher than the benefits and terminate the interaction.
4. If men have an objectifying sexual goal and women do not, but men are also particularly likely to see women as sexual objects (e.g., due to ideology or the environment), then men will evaluate the woman positively while women evaluate the man negatively (i.e., objectification misfit). Men will see the benefits of continued interaction as higher than the costs and continue the interaction despite women's wishes to terminate, resulting in sexual violence.

In summary, the psychological phenomena described in the SIMO represent a socially coordinated set of processes that can occur between men and women once sexual goals are activated from living in a patriarchal culture in which women are seen as sexual objects. Such sexual goals can cause men and women to become involved in an objectifying interaction in which men see women as sexual objects and sometimes engage in sexual violence towards women (e.g., street harassment, sexual harassment, and sexual assault).

From our point of view, objectification behaviors from men towards women can be accentuated by a complementary set of processes in women themselves. Women's sexual goals, also constructed by patriarchy, can result in self-objectifying behaviors manifested as self-sexualization and self-silencing. For women, these processes create a reality in which they act in line with their own self-objectifying sexual goals, often confirming the notion that women are sexual objects in the minds of perceivers. The cost-benefit analyses of men and women during objectifying interactions are cyclical. With each ensuing behavior, men and women will re-evaluate how their partner fits (or not) their goals and engage in cost-benefit analyses. They will continue the interaction under fit and usually, but not always terminate the interaction under misfit.

The future of objectification interaction research

Critical tests of the SIMO and methodological solutions

Undoubtedly, non-interactive studies have made critical contributions to understanding objectification. The insight from objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) and related research (Roberts *et al.*, 2018) that women often experience persistent self-objectification and related mental health consequences even in the absence of others was revolutionary. Understanding perceptual and cognitive biases (e.g., cognitive objectification, Bernard *et al.*, 2012; Gervais *et al.*, 2012) as well as implicit and explicit trait ascription (or the lack thereof, Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009; Loughnan *et al.*, 2010; Vaes *et al.*, 2011) underlying objectification of others has also proven valuable to understanding when and how people are seen as objects (Bernard *et al.*, 2018).

Yet, in our view, these studies represent a skin-deep understanding of sexual objectification, which many feminist scholars theorize and describe in social interaction terms (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Langton, 2009; Nussbaum, 1999). Noninteractive studies do not directly address the types of behaviors that can occur during interactions, nor do they explicate how men and women negotiate a shared reality of women as sexual objects when women are in fact human beings.

In this paper, we have shared a comprehensive model of objectification in interactions, including predictors (antecedents), mechanisms (pre-interaction and interaction processes), and outcomes (continuation or termination) of objectifying interactions. Based on the SIMO, specific hypotheses for each phase were articulated at the end of each section. Given that most existing research is non-interactive, we have primarily provided indirect empirical evidence for the SIMO's tenets. Thus, direct tests of the model are needed.

First, researchers can predict when and why objectifying interactions will terminate or continue based on antecedents, pre-interaction processes, and interaction processes for men and women. Of the few studies that have examined objectification in interactions, there have been two basic approaches (see Table 1). The first type of paradigm involves actual interaction between men and women. *Actual interaction* (AI) studies, as the name suggests, reflect an in-person encounter

between the objectifier and objectified, though the degree of spontaneous objectifying behavior produced in these interactions varies. In the purest AI studies, researchers invite male and female participants to the laboratory and examine real-time objectification during mixed-sex exchanges (Garcia *et al.*, 2016; Strelan & Pagoudis, 2018; Vasquez *et al.*, 2018). In these studies, participants are naïve and the complexity and dynamic nature of objectification as it unfolds in real time between two people can be understood.

To test the SIMO, researchers could conduct an AI study in which they experimentally manipulate cues in the context and assess key ideological variables (e.g., endorsement of patriarchy) in men and/or women prior to the study. Pre-interaction processes including goals and interaction intentions then could be assessed to consider objectification initiation or avoidance. Using behavioral coding schemes, objectifying and self-objectifying behaviors that emerge between men and women could be recorded and coded, including the type, but also the number of objectifying behaviors as well as the duration of the interaction to assess continuation and termination. The actor-partner interdependence model (APIM, Kashy & Kenny, 2000; see also Garcia *et al.*, 2016; Strelan & Pagoudis, 2018) is useful in AI studies because it integrates a conceptual model of interdependence in dyads with appropriate statistical techniques for measuring and analyzing this interdependence. We would expect more objectifying (men) and more self-objectifying (women) behaviors and longer interactions for dyads in which both interactants endorse objectification-supportive ideologies in objectifying environments.

While valuable for comprehensive tests of the SIMO, these types of AI studies are not without their limitations. For example, assessing some proposed mechanisms of the SIMO as they unfold (e.g., sexual goal activation; cost-benefit analyses of objectifying and self-objectifying behavior; wishful thinking and pseudo-empathy; self-silencing) during the interaction would likely disrupt the spontaneous expression of objectifying behaviors. Not to mention that bringing dyads into the laboratory and assessing objectifying and self-objectifying behaviors for both members of the dyad is complicated and time-consuming.

A second critical step to evaluate the utility of the SIMO is to conduct more focused tests of its tenets. For example, the paths of the SIMO could be examined separately for men and women. Additional types of AI studies have used highly trained confederates to isolate

objectifying interaction processes in women or men. Gervais *et al.* (2011; see also Gervais *et al.*, 2016; Kimble *et al.*, 2016; Wiener *et al.*, 2013), for example, have used male confederates to experimentally manipulate objectifying behavior (e.g., gazes, commentary) during interactions with women. This paradigm could be adopted to assess the role of ideology and context on women's pre-interaction goals and behavioral intentions as well as self-objectifying behaviors and decisions to continue or terminate an interaction with an objectifying man.

Similar to AI studies that assess spontaneous behaviors for both men and women, these studies have stronger ecological validity than other paradigms (e.g., vignettes or self-reports), but they also have some weaknesses. The use of highly trained male confederates to exhibit objectifying gazes, for example, is time intensive and challenging (e.g., teaching them to deliver consistently non-verbal behaviors; assessing fidelity to the manipulation over time). Some men feel uncomfortable delivering objectifying behaviors towards women and when possible, it is important to keep confederates blind to experimental manipulations or at least blind to specific hypotheses. Incomplete disclosure during the consent process is also sometimes necessary to avoid demand characteristics from women and thorough debriefings along with mood enhancers are useful tools to ensure the well-being of female participants.

Further, we are unaware of any studies that have explicitly examined men's sexually objectifying behaviors with female confederates, which would be necessary to isolate the role of men's ideologies and sexual goals in predicting the initiation and continuation of objectifying behaviors with women. There have been studies that have examined men's objectifying behaviors towards women using eye-tracking (Gervais *et al.*, 2013), but these have involved showing men still images of women on a computer while tracking their gazing behavior. Men's objectifying behavior may vary considerably when women are actually present to 'look back'. Thus, much less is known about the uniquely social outcomes – whether people want to continue or terminate such interactions – following an objectifying encounter.

As the Pryor (1987) study illustrates, subjecting female confederates to objectifying behaviors by male participants could be challenging from an ethical perspective, for example if a male participant's conduct undermines a female confederate's feelings of safety and well-being. We believe it would be quite difficult, if not impossible to

assess actual objectifying touch in the laboratory. However, Vasquez *et al.* (2018) utilized a clever methodology in which they found that men were more likely to subject a female confederate to an unwanted physical encounter (putting her hand in very cold water) as a proxy for physical aggression. Similar approaches could be used with sexual aggression. Recent technological advances in virtual reality also have made it possible to examine men's touch of a simulated woman (Abbey, Pegram, Woerner, & Wegner, 2018). Virtual reality technology provides excellent experimental control with ecologically valid stimuli without subjecting actual women to objectification.

Additionally, there have been advances in portable eye-tracking tools that provide reliable and ethical means of assessing more subtle gaze behaviors. To illustrate, men's objectifying gazes can be tracked during actual interactions with female confederates. The authors of this paper have found that safeguards with confederates (e.g., unobtrusive monitoring; well-being checks following interactions with men) are necessary to ensure the safety (physical and psychological) of confederates in these live interactions when they are actually subjected to men's objectifying behaviors.

There are other laboratory paradigms in which the presence of another person is anticipated or presumed, but no in-person social interaction ensues (Calogero, 2004; Gay & Castano, 2010; Saguy *et al.*, 2010). These *presumed interaction* (PI) studies have primarily focused on the perspective of the objectified individual. Calogero (2004), for example, assessed women's body shame and social physique anxiety when they anticipated the male gaze during a future interaction. Likewise, Saguy *et al.* (2010) told female participants that a male participant was watching a video of them in which the camera focused on their body (objectification condition) or face (control condition). While these studies lack some ecological validity of actual interaction studies, they afford researchers more experimental control. Similarly, Teng *et al.* (2015, Study 2; see also Kahalon *et al.*, 2018) conducted a clever study that blurred the lines between actual and anticipated interaction studies. They delivered an objectifying comment via an ostensible computer-mediated exchange in which female participants believed they were receiving actual objectifying comments from a male who could see them. While computer-mediated interactions do not map onto prototypical examples of objectification in interactions outlined by the SIMO, online objectifying interactions are increasingly

common. The cost–benefit analysis (e.g., more anonymity) is likely modulated by online versus in-person factors. To our knowledge, PI studies have focused on the consequences of objectifying treatment for women, but have not examined the actual objectifying treatment of women by men.

Finally, while we believe AI or PI paradigms are a necessary step for comprehensive tests of the SIMO, including the sequential stages of objectification during social interactions for men, women, or both, some novel tenets of the SIMO also could be tested with non-interactive paradigms. For example, understanding the connection between ideological and contextual antecedents and goal-based pre-interaction processes could be assessed using social cognitive measures adopted from the priming (Bargh *et al.*, 1995; Rudman & Borgida, 1995) and goal (Fitzsimons & Shah, 2008) literatures. Likewise, the cost–benefit analysis and related processes of objectifying and self-objectifying behaviors could be examined using paradigms from the person perception literature (Abbey, 1987; Farris *et al.*, 2008). For example, male participants could watch a recording of a self-sexualizing woman and misattributed sexual agency, wishful thinking, and pseudo-empathy as mechanisms for intentions to engage in objectifying behaviors towards her could be measured. Likewise, female participants could watch a recording of an objectifying man and assess anticipated power, belonging, and self-silencing from self-objectifying behaviors. Indeed, these approaches may be necessary complements to interaction studies in order to fully understand the underlying processes of the SIMO.

Conclusion

I looked and looked at her, and knew as clearly as I know I am to die, that I loved her more than anything I had ever seen or imagined on earth, or hoped for anywhere else.

Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita*

These are the words of Humbert, the narrator of *Lolita*, a pedophile who describes his infatuation with a teenage girl, Dolores Haze. The strength of the novel originates from the fact that Nabokov only conveys Humbert's view. *Lolita* can be read as a first-person account of

sexual objectification from the perspective of the objectifier. Dolores', the silent victim, perspective and, more generally, an understanding of who she is, as a full-fledged person and not only as the object of Humbert's desire, have to be read between the lines. The tragedy of her fate can only be appraised if, resisting the seduction of Humbert's prose, the reader engages in this exercise. *Lolita* is one of many examples of literary or, more generally, artistic works depicting instances of sexual objectification in interpersonal interactions between women and men – a phenomenon that is frequent in women's everyday lives (even if, of course, most men are not perverse like Humbert!). It can be contrasted with Bartky's (1990) quote at the outset which prioritized women's phenomenological experiences of objectification as a systematic form of oppression delivered from men to women. In an experience sampling study, Holland *et al.* (2017) showed that young women, on average, experience objectification every 2 days and witness instances of sexual objectification in interpersonal interactions once every day. As we have noted, this phenomenon contributes to gender inequality by maintaining women in traditional sex roles, silencing them, and paving the way for sexual violence. The slogan of second-wave feminism, 'the personal is political', expresses the importance of interpersonal interactions in perpetuating such inequality.

Although feminist ideals have inspired social psychologists in their quest to appraise the social psychological underpinnings of gender relations (Eagly, 1994), rigorous empirical studies of actual social interactions between men and women have been scarce. As we have noted, this is especially true of research inspired by objectification, a phenomenon that manifests itself most acutely in interpersonal relations. In the present paper, we have presented an attempt to respond to this state of affairs by introducing a model and research agenda leading to empirically testable hypotheses. While ultimately focusing on actual interactions, the model addresses the constraints bearing on these interactions due to the presence of cultural, socio-structural, and ideological factors. We very much hope that in spite of the difficulties inherent to engaging in interaction research, the SIMO will inspire scholars to tackle this issue of crucial scientific and societal importance.

References

- Abbey, A. (1987). Misperceptions of friendly behavior as sexual interest: A survey of naturally occurring incidents. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 11, 173–194. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00782.x>
- Abbey, A., Pegram, S. E., Woerner, J., & Wegner, R. (2018). Men's responses to women's sexual refusals: Development and construct validity of a virtual dating simulation of sexual aggression. *Psychology of Violence*, 8, 87–99. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio000078>
- Allen, J., & Gervais, S. J. (2012). The drive to be sexy: Prejudice and core motivations in women's self-sexualization. In *The psychology of prejudice: Interdisciplinary perspectives on contemporary issues* (pp. 77–112). Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers Inc.
- Allen, J., Gervais, S. J., & Smith, J. (2013). Sit big to eat big: The interaction of body posture and body concern on restrained eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37, 325–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313476477>
- Bargh, J. A., Gollwitzer, P. M., Lee-Chai, A., Barndollar, K., & Trötschel, R. (2001). The automated will: Nonconscious activation and pursuit of behavioral goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81, 1014–1027. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.1014>
- Bargh, J. A., Raymond, P., Pryor, J. B., & Strack, F. (1995). Attractiveness of the underling: An automatic power? Sex association and its consequences for sexual harassment and aggression. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68, 768–781. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.68.5.768>
- Bartky, S. L. (1990). *Femininity and domination: Studies in the phenomenology of oppression*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Baumeister, R. F., Vohs, K. D., & Funder, D. C. (2007). Psychology as the science of self-reports and finger movements: Whatever happened to actual behavior? *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 2, 396–403. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6916.2007.00051.x>
- Bennett, J. (2017, December 16). *When saying 'yes' is easier than saying 'no'* (pp. SR8). New York Times.
- Berdahl, J. L. (2007). The sexual harassment of uppity women. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 425–437. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.2.425>
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., Campomizzi, S., & Klein, O. (2012). Integrating sexual objectification with object versus person recognition: The sexualized body-inversion hypothesis. *Psychological Science*, 23, 469–471. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611434748>
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., Delmée, A., & Klein, O. (2015). From sex objects to human beings: Masking sexual body parts and humanization as moderators to women's objectification. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 39, 432–446. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315580125>
- Bernard, P., Gervais, S. J., & Klein, O. (2018). Objectifying objectification: When and why people are cognitively reduced to their parts akin to objects. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 29, 82–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1471949>

- Bernard, P., Legrand, S., & Klein, O. (2018). From bodies to blame: Exposure to sexually objectifying media increases tolerance toward sexual harassment. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 7(2), 99.
- Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Breines, J. G., Crocker, J., & Garcia, J. A. (2008). Self-objectification and well-being in women's daily lives. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 583–598. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207313727>
- Burkett, M., & Hamilton, K. (2012). Postfeminist sexual agency: Young women's negotiations of sexual consent. *Sexualities*, 15, 815–833. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460712454076>
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 38, 217–230. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.38.2.217>
- Calogero, R. M. (2004). A test of objectification theory: The effect of the male gaze on appearance concerns in college women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28, 16–21. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2004.00118.x>
- Calogero, R. M. (2013). Objects don't object: Evidence that self-objectification disrupts women's social activism. *Psychological Science*, 24, 312–318. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612452574>
- Calogero, R. M., & Jost, J. T. (2011). Self-subjugation among women: Exposure to sexist ideology, self-objectification, and the protective function of the need to avoid closure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100, 211–228. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021864>
- Calogero, R. M., & Siegel, J. A. (2018). Widening understandings of women's sexual desire: A social-ecological lens. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 48, 1693–1698. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1351-z>
- Calogero, R. M., & Thompson, J. K. (2009). Sexual self-esteem in American and British college women: Relations with self-objectification and eating problems. *Sex Roles*, 60, 160–173. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9517-0>
- Calogero, R. M., & Tylka, T. L. (2014). Sanctioning resistance to sexual objectification: An integrative system justification perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 70, 763–778. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12090>
- Calogero, S., Tantleff-Dunn, S., & Thompson, J. K. (2011). *Self-objectification in women: Causes, consequences, and counteractions*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Cikara, M., Eberhardt, J. L., & Fiske, S. T. (2011). From agents to objects: Sexist attitudes and neural responses to sexualized targets. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 23, 540–551. <https://doi.org/10.1162/jocn.2010.21497>
- Civile, C., & Obhi, S. S. (2016). Power, objectification, and recognition of sexualized women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40, 199–212. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315604820>
- Custers, R., & Aarts, H. (2005). Positive affect as implicit motivator: On the nonconscious 459 operation of behavioral goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(129), 460. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.2.129>
- de Beauvoir, S. (1952). *The second sex* (H. M. Parshley, trans.). New York, NY: Knopf.

- Deaux, K., & Major, B. (1987). Putting gender into context: An interactive model of gender-related behavior. *Psychological review*, 94, 369–389. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.94.3.369>
- Diehl, C., Rees, J., & Bohner, G. (2018). Predicting sexual harassment from hostile sexism and short-term mating orientation: Relative strength of predictors depends on situational priming of power versus sex. *Violence Against Women*, 24, 123–143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216678092>
- Dunlop, W. L., McCoy, T. P., Harake, N., & Gray, J. (2018). When I think of you I project myself. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9, 586–594. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617715069>
- Dworkin, A. (1991). *Pornography: Men possessing women*. New York, NY: Plume.
- Eagly, A. H. (1994). II. On comparing women and men. *Feminism & Psychology*, 4, 513–522. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353594044005>
- Eagly, A. H., Wood, W., & Diekmann, A. B. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities: A current appraisal. In T. Eckes & H. M. Trautner (Eds.), *The developmental social psychology of gender* (pp. 123–174). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Echterhoff, G., Higgins, E. T., & Levine, J. M. (2009). Shared reality: Experiencing commonality with others' inner states about the world. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 4, 496–521. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6924.2009.01161.x>
- Fairchild, K. (2010). Context effects on women's perceptions of stranger harassment. *Sexuality & Culture*, 14, 191–216. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-010-9070-1>
- Fairchild, K., & Rudman, L. (2008). Everyday stranger harassment and women's objectification. *Social Justice Research*, 21, 338–357. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-008-0073-0>
- Farris, C., Treat, T. A., Viken, R. J., & McFall, R. M. (2008). Sexual coercion and the misperception of sexual intent. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 28, 48–66. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2007.03.002>
- Fitzsimons, G. M., & Fishbach, A. (2010). Shifting closeness: Interpersonal effects of personal goal progress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 98, 535–549. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018581>
- Fitzsimons, G. M., & Shah, J. (2008). How goal instrumentality shapes relationship evaluations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 319–337. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.2.319>
- Forbes, G. B., Collinsworth, L. L., Jobe, R. L., Braun, K. D., & Wise, L. M. (2007). Sexism, hostility toward women, and endorsement of beauty ideals and practices: Are beauty ideals associated with oppressive beliefs? *Sex Roles*, 56, 265–273. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9161-5>
- Franz, M. R., DiLillo, D., & Gervais, S. J. (2016). Sexual objectification and sexual assault: Do self-objectification and sexual assertiveness account for the link? *Psychology of Violence*, 6, 262–270. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000015>

- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. A. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 173–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x>
- Fredrickson, B. L., Roberts, T. A., Noll, S. M., Quinn, D. M., & Twenge, J. M. (1998). That swimsuit becomes you: Sex differences in self-objectification, restrained eating, and math performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 269–284. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.1.269>
- Frye, M. (1983). *The politics of reality: Essays in feminist theory*. New York, NY: Crossing Press feminist series.
- Galdi, S., Maass, A., & Cadinu, M. (2014). Objectifying media: Their effect on gender role norms and sexual harassment of women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 398–413. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313515185>
- Garcia, R. L., Earnshaw, V. A., & Quinn, D. M. (2016). Objectification in action: Self- and other-objectification in mixed-sex interpersonal interactions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40, 213–228. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315614966>
- Gay, R. K., & Castano, E. (2010). My body or my mind: The impact of state and trait objectification on women's cognitive resources. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 695–703. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.731>
- Gervais, S. J. (2016). The social interaction model of objectification (SIMO): Implications for the social-psychological study of sexual violence. In A. Miller (Ed), *The social psychology of good and evil* (pp. 224–246). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., Riemer, A. R., & Gullickson, M. (2018). The balanced objectification hypothesis: The effects of objectification valence and body sentiment on source sentiment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 45, 571–586. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218789625>
- Gervais, S. J., Bernard, P., & Riemer, A. R. (2015). Who treats people as sex objects? Cultural orientation, social comparison, and sexual objectification perpetration. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 28, 153–181.
- Gervais, S. J., Davidson, M. M., Styck, K., Canivez, G., & DiLillo, D. (2018). The development and psychometric properties of the Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale—Perpetration Version. *Psychology of Violence*, 8, 546–559. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000148>
- Gervais, S. J., DiLillo, D., & McChargue, D. (2014). Understanding the link between men's alcohol use and sexual violence perpetration: The mediating role of sexual objectification. *Psychology of Violence*, 4, 156–169. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0033840>
- Gervais, S. J., Holland, A. M., & Dodd, M. D. (2013). My eyes are up here: The nature of the objectifying gaze toward women. *Sex Roles*, 69, 557–570. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-013-0316-x>
- Gervais, S. J., Vescio, T. K., & Allen, J. (2011). When what you see is what you get: The consequences of the objectifying gaze for women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 35, 5–17. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684310386121>

- Gervais, S. J., Vescio, T. K., & Allen, J. (2012). A test of the fungibility hypothesis from sexual objectification theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51, 499–513. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312474800>
- Gervais, S. J., Wiener, R. L., Allen, J., Farnum, K. S., & Kimble, K. (2016). Do you see what I see? The consequences of objectification in work settings for experiencers and third party predictors. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 16, 143–174. <https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12118>
- Gill, R. (2007). Postfeminist media culture: Elements of a sensibility. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 10(2), 147–166. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549407075898>
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491–512. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>
- Gruenfeld, D. H., Inesi, M. E., Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). Power and the objectification of social targets. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 111–127. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.111>
- Guizzo, F., & Cadinu, M. (2017). Effects of objectifying gaze on female cognitive performance: The role of flow experience and internalization of beauty ideals. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 56, 281–292. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12170>
- Harackiewicz, J. M., & DePaulo, B. M. (1982). Accuracy of person perception: A component analysis according to Cronbach. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 8, 247–256. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167282082011>
- Haslam, N., & Loughnan, S. (2014). Dehumanization and inhumanization. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 65, 399–423. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010213-115045>
- Hebl, M. R., & Dovidio, J. F. (2005). Promoting the “social” in the examination of social stigmas. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 9, 156–182. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0902_4
- Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., & Lin, J. (2004). The swimsuit becomes us all: Ethnicity, gender, and vulnerability to self-objectification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 1322–1331. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167204264052>
- Heflick, N. A., & Goldenberg, J. L. (2009). Objectifying Sarah Palin: Evidence that objectification causes women to be perceived as less competent and less fully human. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 598–601. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.02.008>
- Heflick, N. A., Goldenberg, J. L., Cooper, D. P., & Puvia, E. (2011). From women to objects: Appearance focus, target gender, and perceptions of warmth, morality and competence. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47, 572–581. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.020>
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York, NY: Wiley & Sons.

- Herbozo, S., & Thompson, J. K. (2006). Appearance-related commentary, body image, and self-esteem: Does the distress associated with the commentary matter? *Body Image*, 3, 255–262. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2006.04.001>
- Hoffman, C., & Hurst, N. (1990). Gender stereotypes: Perception or rationalization? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 197–208. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.2.197>
- Holland, E., & Haslam, N. (2013). Worth the weight: The objectification of overweight versus thin targets. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37, 462–468. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684312474800>
- Holland, E., & Haslam, N. (2016). Cute little things: The objectification of prepubescent girls. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 40, 108–119. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315602887>
- Holland, E., Koval, P., Stratemeyer, M., Thomson, F., & Haslam, N. (2017). Sexual objectification in women's daily lives: A smartphone ecological momentary assessment study. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 56, 314–333. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12152>
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Human behavior: Its elementary forms*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Jack, D. C. (2011). Reflections on the silencing the self scale and its origins. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 35, 523–529. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311414824>
- Jack, D. C., & Dill, D. (1992). The Silencing the Self Scale: Schemas of intimacy associated with depression in women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 16, 97–106. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1992.tb00242.x>
- Jewell, J. A., & Brown, C. S. (2013). Sexting, catcalls, and butt slaps: How gender stereotypes and perceived group norms predict sexualized behavior. *Sex Roles*, 69, 594–604. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-013-0320-1>
- Jost, J. T., & Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary gender stereotypes: Consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 498–509. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.498>
- Kahalon, R., Shnabel, N., & Becker, J. C. (2018). "Don't bother your pretty little head": Appearance compliments lead to improved mood but impaired cognitive performance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 42, 136–150. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684318758596>
- Kaiser, C. R., & Miller, C. T. (2001). Stop complaining! The social costs of making attributions to discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 254–263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201272010>
- Kashy, D. A., & Kenny, D. A. (2000). The analysis of data from dyads and groups. In H. T. Reis & C. M. Judd (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in social and personality psychology* (Vol. 38, pp. 451–477). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelley, H. H. (1967). Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (Vol. 15, pp. 192–238). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

- Kiefer, A. K., Sanchez, D. T., Kalinka, C. J., & Ybarra, O. (2006). How women's nonconscious association of sex with submission relates to their subjective sexual arousability and ability to reach orgasm. *Sex Roles*, 55, 83–94. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9060-9>
- Kimble, K. M., Farnum, K. S., Wiener, R. L., Allen, J., Nuss, G. D., & Gervais, S. J. (2016). Differences in the eyes of the beholders: The roles of subjective and objective judgments in sexual harassment claims. *Law and Human Behavior*, 40, 319–336. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000182>
- Klein, V., Imhoff, R., Reiningier, K. M., & Briken, P. (2019). Perceptions of sexual script deviation in women and men. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 48, 631–644. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1280-x>
- Kozak, M. N., Roberts, T. A., & Patterson, K. E. (2014). She stoops to conquer? How posture interactions with self-objectification and status to impact women's affect and performance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 414–424. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313517865>
- Kozee, H. B., Tylka, T. L., Augustus-Horvath, C. L., & Denchik, A. (2007). Development and psychometric evaluation of the interpersonal sexual objectification scale. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 31, 176–189. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2007.00351.x>
- Kruglanski, A. W., Shah, J. Y., Fishbach, A., Friedman, R., Chun, W. Y., & Sleeth-Keppler, D. (2002). A theory of goal systems. In M. P. Zanna, & J. M. Olsen (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 34, pp. 331–378). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Lameiras-Fernández, M., Fiske, S. T., Fernández, A. G., & Lopez, J. F. (2018). Objectifying women's bodies is acceptable from an intimate perpetrator, at least for female sexists. *Sex Roles*, 79, 190–205. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0862-8>
- Langton, R. (2009). *Sexual solipsism: Philosophical essays on pornography and objectification*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- LeMoncheck, L. (1985). *Dehumanizing women: Treating persons as sex objects*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Lenton, A. P., Bryan, A., Hastie, R., & Fischer, O. (2007). We want the same thing: Projection in judgments of sexual intent. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33, 975–988. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207301019>
- Lerner, M. J. (1980). The belief in a just world. In *The belief in a just world. Perspectives in social psychology* (pp. 9–30). Boston, MA: Springer.
- Levy, A. (2005). *Female chauvinist pigs: Women and the rise of Raunch culture*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., & Ramsey, L. R. (2011). Empowering or oppressing? Development and exploration of the Enjoyment of Sexualization Scale. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37, 55–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210386119>
- Loughnan, S., Baldissarri, C., Spaccatini, F., & Elder, L. (2017). Internalizing objectification: Objectified individuals see themselves as less warm, competent, moral, and human. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 56, 217–232. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12188>

- Loughnan, S., Fernandez-Campos, S., Vaes, J., Anjum, G., Aziz, M., Harada, C., ... Tsuchiya, K. (2015). Exploring the role of culture in sexual objectification: A seven nations study. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale*, 28, 125–152.
- Loughnan, S., Haslam, N., Murnane, T., Vaes, J., Reynolds, C., & Suitner, C. (2010). Objectification leads to depersonalization: The denial of mind and moral concern to objectified others. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 709–717. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.755>
- Loughnan, S., Pina, A., Vasquez, E. A., & Puvia, E. (2013). Sexual objectification increases rape victim blame and decreases perceived suffering. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37, 455–461. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313485718>
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1987). *Feminism unmodified: Discourses on life and law*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1989). *Toward a feminist theory of the state*. Harvard University Press.
- Manne, K. (2018). *Down girl: The logic of misogyny*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Martins, Y., Tiggemann, M., & Churchett, L. (2008). The shape of things to come: Gay men's satisfaction with specific body parts. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 9, 248. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012473>
- Meltzer, A. L. (2019). Women can benefit from sexual and physical valuation in the context of a romantic relationship. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0146167219854443>
- Meltzer, A. L., & McNulty, J. K. (2014). "Tell me I'm sexy. . .and otherwise valuable": Body valuation and relationship satisfaction. *Personal Relationships*, 21, 68–87. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pere.12018>
- Mescher, K., & Rudman, L. (2014). Men in the mirror: The role of men's body shame in sexual aggression. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 40, 1063–1075. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167214535641>
- Miles-McLean, H., Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., Robertson, C. M., Hagerman, C., Gnoleba, M. A., & Papp, L. J. (2015). "Stop looking at me!" Interpersonal sexual objectification as a source of insidious trauma. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 39, 363–374. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314561018>
- Moffitt, L. B., & Szymanski, D. M. (2011). Experiencing sexually objectifying environments: A qualitative study. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 39, 67–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000010364551>
- Moradi, B., & Huang, Y. P. (2008). Objectification theory and psychology of women: A decade of advances and future directions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32, 377–398. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00452.x>
- Morris, K. L., Goldenberg, J. L., & Heflick, N. A. (2014). Trio of terror (pregnancy, menstruation, and breastfeeding): An existential function of literal self-objectification among women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 107, 181–198. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036493>
- Murnen, S. K., Wright, C., & Kaluzny, G. (2002). If "boys will be boys", then girls will be victims? A meta-analytic review of the research that relates masculine ideology to sexual aggression. *Sex Roles*, 46, 359–375. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1020488928736>

- Nabokov, V. V. (1997). *Lolita*. New York, NY: Vintage International.
- Norris, J., Nurius, P. S., & Dimeff, L. A. (1996). Through her eyes: Factors affecting women's perception of and resistance to acquaintance sexual aggression threat. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 20, 123–145. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1996.tb00668.x>
- Nowatzki, J., & Morry, M. M. (2009). Women's intentions regarding, and acceptance of, self-sexualizing behavior. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 33, 95–107. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.01477.x>
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1999). *Sex and social justice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Orehek, E., & Forest, A. L. (2016). When people serve as means to goals. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 25(2), 79–84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721415623536>
- Orehek, E., & Weaverling, C. G. (2017). On the nature of objectification: Implications of considering people as a means to goals. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12, 719–730. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617691138>
- Ostrom, T. M. (1984). *The sovereignty of social cognition*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Papp, L. J., & Erchull, M. J. (2017). Objectification and system justification impact rape avoidance behaviors. *Sex Roles*, 76, 110–120. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0660-8>
- Pryor, J. B. (1987). Sexual harassment proclivities in men. *Sex Roles*, 17, 269–290. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288453>
- Quinn, D. M., Kallen, R. W., & Cathey, C. (2006). Body on my mind: The lingering effect of state self-objectification. *Sex Roles*, 55, 869–874. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9140-x>
- Rawat, P. S. (2014). Patriarchal beliefs, women's empowerment, and general well-being. *Vikalpa*, 39, 43–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0256090920140206>
- Robbins, J. M., & Krueger, J. I. (2005). Social projection to ingroups and outgroups: A review and meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 9, 32–47. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0901_3
- Roberts, T. A., Calogero, R. M., & Gervais, S. J. (2018). Objectification theory: Continuing contributions to feminist psychology. In C. B. Travis, J. W. White, A. Rutherford, W. S. Williams, S. L. Cook, & K. F. Wyche (Eds.), *APA handbook of the psychology of women: History, theory, and battlegrounds* (Vol. 1, pp. 249–271). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Roupenian, K. (2017, December 11). *Cat person*. The New Yorker.
- Rudman, L. A. (2017). Myths of sexual economics theory: Implications for gender equality. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 41, 299–313. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684317714707>
- Rudman, L. A., & Borgida, E. (1995). The afterglow of construct accessibility: The behavioral consequences of priming men to view women as sexual objects. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31, 493–517. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1995.1022>

- Rudman, L. A., & Fetterolf, J. C. (2014). Gender and sexual economics: Do women view sex as a female commodity? *Psychological Science*, 25, 1438–1447. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797614533123>
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (2012). Of animals and objects: Men's implicit dehumanization of women and likelihood of sexual aggression. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 734–746. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212436401>
- Sáez, G., Riemer, A. R., Brock, R. L., & Gervais, S. J. (2019). Objectification in heterosexual romantic relationships: Examining relationship satisfaction of female objectification recipients and male objectifying perpetrators. *Sex Roles*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-0990-9>
- Sáez, G., Valor-Segura, I., & Expósito, F. (2019). Interpersonal sexual objectification experiences: Psychological and social well-being consequences for women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 34, 741–762. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516645813>
- Saguy, T., Quinn, D. M., Dovidio, J. F., & Pratto, F. (2010). Interacting like a body: Objectification can lead women to narrow their presence in social interactions. *Psychological Science*, 21, 178–182. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797609357751>
- Sanchez, D. T., Crocker, J., & Boike, K. R. (2005). Doing gender in the bedroom: Investing in gender norms and the sexual experience. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1445–1455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205277333>
- Sanchez, D. T., Fetterolf, J. C., & Rudman, L. A. (2012). Eroticizing inequality in the United States: The consequences and determinants of traditional gender role adherence in intimate relationships. *Journal of Sex Research*, 49, 168–183. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2011.653699>
- Sanchez, D. T., Kiefer, A. K., & Ybarra, O. (2006). Sexual submissiveness in women: Costs for sexual autonomy and arousal. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 512–524. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205282154>
- Saunders, B. A., Scaturro, C., Guarino, C., & Kelly, E. (2017). Contending with catcalling: The role of system-justifying beliefs and ambivalent sexism in predicting women's coping experiences with (and men's attributions for) stranger harassment. *Current Psychology*, 36, 324–338. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-016-9421-7>
- Shepherd, M., Erchull, M. J., Rosner, A., Taubenberger, L., Queen, E. F., & McKee, J. (2011). "I'll get that for you": The relationship between benevolent sexism and body self-perceptions. *Sex Roles*, 64, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9859-2>
- Smolak, L., Murnen, S. K., & Myers, T. A. (2014). Sexualizing the self: What college women and men think about and do to be "sexy". *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38, 379–397. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684314524168>
- Snyder, M. (1992). Motivational foundations of behavioral confirmation. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 67–114). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

- Snyder, M., Tanke, E. D., & Berscheid, E. (1977). Social perception and interpersonal behavior: On the self-fulfilling nature of social stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 656. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.35.9.656>
- Strelan, P., & Hargreaves, D. (2005). Women who objectify other women: The vicious circle of objectification? *Sex Roles*, 52, 707–712. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-3737-3>
- Strelan, P., & Pagoudis, S. (2018). Birds of a feather flock together: The interpersonal process of objectification within intimate heterosexual relationships. *Sex Roles*, 79, 72–82. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0851-y>
- Swann, W. B. (1984). Quest for accuracy in person perception: A matter of pragmatics. *Psychological Review*, 91, 457–477. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.91.4.457>
- Swim, J. K., & Hyers, L. L. (1999). Excuse me—What did you just say?!: Women's public and private responses to sexist remarks. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35, 68–88. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1998.1370>
- Teng, F., Chen, Z., Poon, K. T., & Zhang, D. (2015). Sexual objectification pushes women away: The role of decreased likability. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 45, 77–87. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2070>
- Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). Power and dependence. *The Social Psychology of Groups*, 7, 100–125.
- Tiggemann, M., & Boundy, M. (2008). Effect of environment and appearance compliment on college women's self-objectification, mood, body shame, and cognitive performance. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32, 399–405. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2008.00453.x>
- Vaes, J., Paladino, P., & Puvia, E. (2011). Are sexualized women complete human beings? Why men and women dehumanize sexually objectified women. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 774–785. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.824>
- Vasquez, E. A., Ball, L., Loughnan, S., & Pina, A. (2018). The object of my aggression: Sexual objectification increases physical aggression toward women. *Aggressive Behavior*, 44, 5–17. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.21719>
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.
- Watson, L. B., & Grotewiel, M. (2016). The protective role of commitment to social change in the relationship between women's sexist experiences and self-silencing. *Sex Roles*, 75, 139–150. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0594-1>
- Wiener, R. L., Gervais, S. J., Allen, J., & Marquez, A. (2013). Eye of the beholder: Effects of perspective and sexual objectification on harassment judgments. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 19, 206. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028497>
- Wolf, N. (1991). *The beauty myth: How images of beauty are used against women*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Xiao, L., Li, B., Zheng, L., & Wang, F. (2019). The relationship between social power and sexual objectification: Behavioral and ERP data. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00057>

- Yoon, E., Adams, K., Hogge, I., Bruner, J. P., Surya, S., & Bryant, F. B. (2015). Development and validation of the Patriarchal Beliefs Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 62, 264. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000056>
- Yost, M. R., & McCarthy, L. (2012). Girls gone wild? Heterosexual women's same-sex encounters at college parties. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 36, 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684311414818>
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Throwing like a girl: And other essays in feminist philosophy and social theory*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Zurbriggen, E. L., Ramsey, L. R., & Jaworski, B. K. (2011). Self-and partner-objectification in romantic relationships: Associations with media consumption and relationship satisfaction. *Sex Roles*, 64, 449–462. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-9933-4>